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THE

# ECLECTIC REVIEW.

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JANUARY.—JUNE.

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Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν ἢ τὴν Ἐπικου-  
ρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικὴν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἐκάστω τῶν αἱρέσεων τούτων  
καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν τὸ  
'ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚ'ΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φημί.—CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. I.—c. vii. ED. POTT.  
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1855.





THE  
**Eclectic Review.**

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JANUARY, 1855.

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- ART. I.—*Turkey; its History and Progress.* From the Journals and Correspondence of Sir James Porter, fifteen years Ambassador at Constantinople. Continued to the present time, with a Memoir of Sir James Porter, by his Grandson, Sir George Larpent, Bart., &c. &c. In Two Volumes. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1854.
2. *Histoire de la Turquie.* [History of Turkey]. Par A. De Lamartine. Tomes premier et deuxième. Paris: Librairie du Constitutionnel. 1854.
3. *History of the Ottoman Turks.* From the beginning of their Empire to the present time. Chiefly founded on Von Hammer. By E. S. Creasy, M.A., Professor of History in University College, London. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 413. London: Longman & Co.

THESE works derive no ordinary interest from the grand and singular spectacle now entrancing the attention of mankind,—of England and France combating side by side, against Russia, and on behalf of Turkey. The character of the Turks is a fundamental element in the 'war of giants' now waging in the Baltic, the Pacific, the White, and the Black Seas, and threatening at an early day, or at latest in the coming spring, to extend still further its lines of blood and fire, and spread around our planet its panoramic scenes of romance and horror. A supreme crisis in the history of the whole world invests with its own importance the study of the history, the characteristics, and the prospects of the Ottomans and their empire.

Sir George Larpent has rendered an acceptable and well-timed

service to the public in the form of a pious homage to the memory of his grandfather, by sending to the press the observations of Sir James Porter, made during fifteen years' residence as British ambassador at Constantinople. Of all the forms assumed by the pride of family, or by piety for the memory of the dead, the most useful, worthy, and influential, is a biography, or the publication of the letters and writings of the deceased. The marble tablet, the lofty monument, and the gorgeous tomb, may gratify a vulgar pride, or assert a local importance, but a book containing the essence of the experience of a life is a monument doubly beneficial, both honouring the family which produces it, and instructing the persons who peruse it.

Sir James Porter was the son of a captain of a troop in the service of James II., who lost his property in Ireland on the defeat of the Stuart interest, and whose name was La Rogue or La Roche, which the family changed for the name of an uncle, who belonged to the successful party, called Porter. Of literary and theatrical tastes, James Porter, while in a house of business in London, studied the Latin, French, and Italian languages; belonged to a debating society called the 'Robin Hood,' and frequented the theatres. At the theatre he made the acquaintance of a young lawyer of the name of Adams, who afterwards became a baron of the exchequer. Born in 1710, by the time he was six-and-twenty, he had become acquainted, through Mr. Adams, with Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville, and was employed by him in confidential missions connected with continental commerce. In 1741 he was associated with Sir Thomas Robinson, the British minister at Vienna, in supporting Maria Theresa, and after nine years' employment on the continent, was appointed ambassador at the Ottoman Porte. His embassy lasted from 1746 to 1761, and he owed to the fees he received from aliens, Jews, and Armenians, for British protection, the independence which he acquired. He was afterward British minister at Brussels for two years, and spent the last twenty years of his life in a villa at Ham, in the enjoyment of a pension of £1200 a-year. His general information and jovial humour, made his society agreeable to many distinguished members of what has been called the three aristocracies of London—the aristocracies of rank, of wealth, and of intelligence.

The works before us are compilations which have been produced to gratify the curiosity and interest excited by the war respecting Turkey and the Turks. Some of the facts and opinions of Sir James Porter have been disproved by more recent information; but no intelligent man can collect his observations on a nation during fifteen years without having to record facts of permanent value. The compilation which accompanies his observations

completes the picture up to the present time, and brings together many particulars which make the work one of useful reference for the wealthier readers of the newspapers. The financial and commercial information will be deemed valuable by those who wish to have a general view of the resources and capabilities of the Ottoman empire. Military and naval men are provided with an account of the organization and administration of the Turkish army and navy; and biographical sketches of Omar and Curschid Pachas, or Messieurs Lattas and Guyon, originally Greek and Anglican Christians, who have now attained high commands in the Turkish army.

M. de Lamartine's work is a brilliant narrative. In addition to a competent acquaintance with the modern works of greatest authority on his subject, by von Hammer, Caussin de Perceval, Mouradja d'Ohsson, and Sir John Malcolm, M. de Lamartine has the advantage of having travelled among the populations whose history he recites, and of having seen the localities of the picturesque events he describes. The style of the historical publications of M. de Lamartine, and especially of this work, is easy, elegant, various, harmonious, coloured, dramatic,—combining in short almost every charm of the magic of words. Style is the gift of his nation: Frenchmen excel in making what they call *resumés* or abridgments; and M. de Lamartine is in this art a master in a country of masters.

'The Sultan Mahmoud,' says M. de Lamartine, 'wept when he learnt the news of the battle of Navarino,' that contradiction and suicide of the western powers. 'See,' said he, to a diplomatist, who was apologizing for the participation of his country in the cold-blooded murder of Navarino, 'see Europe, which I alone defend against the irruptions of the Moscovites, joins these Moscovites to annihilate me. Europe wishes, then, to be inundated and subdued after me?' 'It is true,' replied the diplomatist to the Sultan, 'but do not despair of Europe. The time will come when she will tardily recognise your efforts, and will burn in your seas the Russian vessels along with which they have burnt your ships at Navarino.' 'God is God,' said Mahmoud, covering his brow with his hands, and no doubt thinking of his son; 'may His will be done.'

M. de Lamartine's view of the Oriental question is very simple and peremptory. 'Shall Russia take the place of Turkey? The Ottoman empire must rest in its place, or France must lose her place. Thus says France; thus says England; thus says Asia, Africa, Spain, and Italy; and thus will Austria herself say when she shall soon become, if she remains inactive, the victim of an ambition which caresses her to suffocate her in her turn. This war,' he says, 'is not war, but the defence of peace. The sacred



principle for which France, England, and Turkey rush to arms to-day is this:—Shall Russia be permitted arbitrarily and with impunity to make war on all the world in an age which wishes for peace?

Our business is not to discuss the question of peace or war, but to obtain some glimpses of the characteristics of the Turks, or some correct conceptions respecting the elements of the Oriental problem, which will remain for solution after the best they can do has been done, by the victories of the sword and the treaties of the pen. Possibly, indeed, the war may cease sooner than is expected by the intervention of the German powers, but the appearances and the probabilities indicate one of those wars which remodel the globe, and which one generation begins and another generation ends. Yet the questions will certainly recur again and again, what are to be the future relations between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority on the banks of the Bosphorus? and what is the fate in store for Mahometanism in Europe?

Oriental scholarship and ethnological observation render it probable that the human family started, in their emigrations to people the globe from Tartary or Central Asia; and the three religions, it is certain, which have most powerfully swayed the destinies of mankind arose on the coasts of Syria and Arabia. The history of the Arabs commences with Hagar sitting weeping in the desert, a bowshot off from the boy she had laid under one of the shrubs, that she might not see him die of thirst, 'and God opened her eyes and she saw a well of water.' The wild, sarcastic, aggressive, defiant, and conquering spirit of Ishmael, is apparent in all his celebrated descendants, in Mahomet and the caliphs, and in their Tartar successors Othman and Timor, hordes and hosts of conquerors, who have been the scourges of a third of the population of the earth, planting tyrants of their race in China, in India, and in Greece, over the vast regions which stretch from Spain to Japan, from the Pillars of Hercules to the Straits of Malacca. There have been no conquerors surpassing these conquerors. The houses of Hapsburg, Romanoff, and Buonaparte dwarf when placed beside the tent of Ishmael. Every other imperial sovereignty, every other sword of terror, has been a petty thing compared with the symbols of the domination of the sons of the outcast from the household of Abraham. No other people have ever cast out so many nations. Conquest may be called Ishmaelism. However, a strange revolution is witnessed in their destinies in our day. The overturning hand of Providence which has laid low their power in India is simultaneously shaking it to its downfall in China and Turkey. Thoughtful men are asking each other with the same breath,—can the children of

Timor hold their ground at Pekin?—and is it possible the sons of Othman can preserve their despotism at Constantinople?

A word in passing on the religion of conquerors. Deism was the religion of Mahomet, Timor, and Buonaparte. We have heard a fanatical follower of the first Napoleon unconsciously repeat the doctrine which Timor taught at Samarcanda,—‘There is but one master in heaven, and there ought to be but one master on earth.’ The idolatries, superstitions, absurdities, dreams, and impostures prospering on human credulity inspire the deist with a contempt for mankind. This vast contempt is opposed to humane and Christian pity, and is already in the minds which feel it a source of indifference for human life—a species of mental massacre. Mahomet rebuked himself for feeling emotion at the grave of his mother because she had lived and died an idolater. Timor told his cavalry to trample to death under the hoofs of their horses the children who had been sent to implore his mercy, and who were the offspring of worshippers of idols. In the Parisians who seek the cure of their diseases from the bones of Saint Genevieve, Buonaparte saw nothing better than food for cannon.

Ishmael worshipped the god of his father Abraham. According to the Arabic historians Abraham made two visits to his son Ishmael in the desert, with the permission of Sarah, which was granted on the jealous condition that he should not dismount from his horse at the residence of the son of Hagar. On the first occasion Ishmael was absent, and his wife Amara came to the door. ‘Where is Ishmael?’ asked the patriarch. ‘He is at the chase,’ answered his wife. ‘Have you anything to give me to eat?’ asked Abraham, ‘for I cannot come down from my horse.’ ‘I have nothing,’ answered Amara; ‘this country is a desert.’ ‘Very well,’ continued Abraham. ‘Describe me to your husband, and tell him that I advise him to change the threshold of his door.’ Ishmael, indignant at the refusal of hospitality to his father, put away Amara, and took another wife named Sayda, from a different tribe. When Abraham came again his son was again absent. A woman, young, slender, and graceful, answered this time the call of the stranger. ‘Have you any food to give me?’ asked Abraham of his daughter-in-law, without making himself known or placing his foot upon the ground. ‘Yes,’ replied she instantly, and brought him some cooked kid, milk, and dates. Abraham tasted them and blessed them, saying,—‘May God multiply these three kinds of food in this country!’ After the repast Sayda said to Abraham,—‘Come down from your horse that I may wash your head and beard.’ ‘I cannot,’ answered the patriarch; but placing one foot on a large stone beside the door, and keeping the other leg across the saddle, he



bent down his head to the hands of the young woman, who washed his eyes and beard. 'When your husband comes back,' said Abraham, 'describe my face to him, and say from me that the threshold of his door is now equally brilliant and solid, and he ought never to change it.' When Ishmael heard these words he said,—'You have seen my father, and he commands me to keep you for ever.' Sayda became the mother of the race of Ishmael. Arabic traditions pretend that the first kaaba or square house at Mecca having been destroyed by the Deluge, Abraham and Ishmael erected the second. Ishmael hewed the stones, and Abraham built the temple, while the sacred black stone, probably an aerolithe, is said to have been contributed by an angel!

Long prior to the time of Mahomet the worship in the kaaba of Mecca had degenerated into an idolatrous medley addressed to three hundred and sixty idols, including probably effigies of Jesus and his mother—

'Jehovah, Jove, or Lord.'

Mahomet re-established the worship of one immaterial God. The Arabian poets had, by their celebrations of the gods and heroes of the tribes by satires and songs, given them a common language, and Mahomet added the boon of unity of religion. Hardened and brutified by the misery of their deserts, the Arab tribes destroyed each other by feuds and wars. Destitute of industry and commerce, they were frequently reduced to live upon insects and serpents, and in their scorn for the female sex, and ravenous jealousy of a share of their scanty meals, buried their superfluous daughters alive. Unity of language combined, strengthened, and excited them to go forth in emigrations and invasions to conquer fertile lands for themselves, and followers for their faith. As grandson of Abdelmontaleb, the Pontiff of Mecca, and having himself risen to wealth and repute before he was forty, Mahomet would have become without an effort the greatest man in Mecca. But he was animated by the ambition of the reformer and the conqueror. Arabian women had no protection against ill-treatment except the fear of the vengeance of their relatives. Mahomet restrained the unlimited licence he found by making legal and religious ceremonies of marriage and divorce necessary to the formation and dissolution of unions, while surrounding the persons and property of women with safeguards superior in some respects to those they enjoy in many Christian countries. Cleanliness he made an article of religion, as a symbol of the purity of the soul. Abstinence from fermented liquors secured to his followers the superiority of reason over their enemies, and protected them against crimes of passion

and violence, and the poisons which destroy their victims, whether artisans of cities or tribes of the deserts, with the rapid mortality of epidemics. He enjoined respect for bodily and mental disease; surrounded his dwelling with huts for the poor, old, and imbecile; and went his round every evening amongst them, soothing their sufferings, listening to their complaints, and supplying their wants. A child climbed upon the back of Mahomet while his head was on the ground at prayers, and he did not move until the mother of the child took it away. A Bedouin, who saw him playing with a flock of children, said disdainfully, 'I have had many of these sheep, but instead of caressing them I buried them alive.' 'Wretch!' cried Mahomet, 'you know nothing of the sweetest feelings of the human heart.' The apprenticeship of orphans to handicrafts, and the education of every child in reading, writing, religion, and laws are commanded by the Koran.

A reformer, a statesman, a general, a conqueror, an orator, Mahomet compiled and adapted to the use of his countrymen the Judæan, Grecian, and Christian ideas he had collected during his travels with his caravan, or from the pilgrims to Mecca, and his Christian acquaintance Bahira, the Arabian monk, and Djaber, the Greek goldsmith. For ten years, from the age of forty to fifty, he tried to accomplish his reforms by preaching in Mecca and its neighbourhood. After being nearly stoned to death, his spirit or his plans changed; he resolved to enforce his ideas by the sword, and fled to join the enemies of his tribe and city at Medina. Negotiations opened with him by Christians were closed by his emphatic rejection of the divinity of Jesus Christ. Although publishing the Koran verse by verse, according to circumstances, he never afterwards swerved from his gospel nor his apostle; and his gospel was deism, and his apostle the sabre!

Mahomet was pitifully weak in regard to the fair sex. Up to the age of fifty he was the irreproachable husband of one wife, who was older than himself; but during the last sixteen years of his life he was continually marrying young wives, and spent the intervals between fainting fits, in quarrels in his harem, declamations in the temple, and conflicts in the battle-field. Possibly a great man may be a hero to his valet; but after fifty, or indeed at any age, it is impossible to be anything but a fool in a harem of young wives. Ayesha was his favourite. Mahomet pretended to receive guidance from angels in his domestic affairs; yet he appears to have been treated like an ordinary man by the blind god and a cunning beauty. Ayesha shall herself in her spoken memoirs tell us her own tale—

'When the prophet of God,' says Ayesha, 'left Medina on an expedition against his enemies, or on a journey, he took with him one of his wives. She followed him, accompanied by several of his slaves, in

a grated litter, covered with a veil, and suspended to the side of a camel. This lot had fallen upon me during the campaign against the infidel Abdallah. On leaving in the morning, or in the night, I left my tent, and according to the precepts shunned the looks of men. I lay down in my litter, and two slaves took it up and attached it to the side of the camel. A similar litter, occupied by one of my women, made a counterpoise on the opposite side. I weighed little when lifted on account of my tender youth and my extreme sobriety,—a virtue which was then common among almost all the women of Arabia.

‘On returning from the campaign, and as the army came to the last station before Medina, they made a halt in the evening, and erected their tents to rest themselves during half the night.

‘Before daybreak the Prophet gave the signal to raise the camp. While the army defiled after him, and they tied up the luggage, I went away alone for a moment into the country. On returning towards my tent, I perceived that I had lost an onyx necklace of Jaffa, which had loosened and fallen from my neck during my walk. I quickly retraced my steps, to search in the sand. I lost time in this search, and at last having found my necklace I ran back towards the camp. The army was no longer there; my tent was taken up, and my camel gone. The slaves ordered to attach the litter had taken it up and tied it to the sides of the animal without perceiving that I was not within. When I arrived I found nobody. Stupefied and frightened I wrapped myself in my veil and sat down on the ground, hoping that they would perceive my absence and come in search of me. They did not; and continued their march without suspecting that the litter was empty.

‘While I was worn with waiting, the son of Moatal, Safwan, passed near me, mounted on his camel. He recognised me, having seen me often in the house of the Prophet prior to the time when the Koran forbade us to let ourselves be looked upon by strangers. He made an exclamation of astonishment to God, and cried, “Is it possible?—it is the wife of the Prophet!”

‘He dismounted from his camel, made it kneel before me, and begged me to mount in his place. I swear by Heaven that he did not say one word more. He stood aloof respectfully while I climbed up upon the camel, and then he took hold of the halter of the animal and walked in silence before it. We could not rejoin the army before broad daylight, at the time of the morning halt. On seeing us thus reappear together, they whispered a thousand things against us. The calumnies spread from mouth to mouth, and mounted up to the ears of the prophet.

‘After returning to Medina, I fell ill from excitement and fatigue. I remarked that the Prophet did not show me the tenderness which he had usually shown when I was ill. If he came into my chamber he confined himself, without speaking to me, to saying to my mother, who watched by my bedside, “How is your daughter?” I was hurt at this unaccustomed coldness, and I said to him one day, “Apostle of God, I wish, if you will permit it, to be nursed among my family?” “Willingly,” replied he. They carried me into my mother’s house.

‘I remained there three weeks without seeing the Prophet. One day, when I was better, one of my friends, who came to see me,



exclaimed suddenly, interrupting the conversation, "Cursed be the calumniators!" "What do you say?" I answered. She then told me the rumours which circulated respecting my encounter with Safwan, and how it was ascribed to a guilty understanding between us. I blushed; I burst into tears; I rose up and threw myself upon my mother. "May God forgive you," said I. "What! they tear my reputation into pieces, and you allow me to be ignorant of it all?" "Be calm," said my mother. "It is very rare indeed that a young woman who is beautiful and adored by her husband, and who has rivals in his heart, escapes defamation."

'The rumour against me and Safwan was so great in Medina that the Prophet, afflicted by the scandal, ascended the pulpit in the Mosque and justified us,—being indignant, he said, against those who calumniated a person of his house, who was so dear to him, and a brave soldier, from whom he had received nothing but services.

'These words, as they made one person justify himself from the charge of calumny at the expense of another, only increased the noise. The Prophet, upon the advice of Ali, made my servant appear before him, to be interrogated respecting my conduct. In spite of the blows which Ali gave her to force her to make avowals against me, she swore that I was pure. The Prophet, who was then tranquillized, came to see me.

'He found me weeping with my father, my mother, and a female friend, who could not console me. He sat down beside me, and said, "You know, Ayesha, the stories which run against you. If you have committed a fault, confess it to me with a penitent heart, for God is indulgent, and pardons upon repentance." My sobs hindering me from answering for a long time, I hoped that my mother or father would answer for me; but seeing they kept silence, I made a violent effort, and I said, "I have done nothing to repent of. If I accused myself, it would be against my conscience. On the other side, however much I might deny the thing of which I am accused, I shall not be believed. I will say like" . . . . Here I stopped for an instant, the trouble in which I was made me forget the name of the patriarch Jacob, which I sought for in vain. "I will say, like the father of Joseph," I recommenced, "patience, and may God justify me!"

'At this moment the Prophet, himself over-excited, fell into one of those fits, during which heaven communicated its inspirations to him. I put a cushion under his head, and waited without anxiety until he should awake, being sure that heaven had absolved me by its revelations. But my father and my mother less certain than myself of my innocence, with what anxiety did they wait for the end of the swoon, and the first words of the Prophet! I thought they would die of terror.

'At last the prophet came to his senses, wiped his brow, which was covered with sweat, although it was winter, and said to me—"Rejoice, Ayesha, thy innocence has been revealed to me on high." "Thank God," cried I. "And the Prophet going out, immediately went and published the verse of the Koran which attests my innocence."

A cross-examination by a skilful *nisi prius* barrister would

not, we fear, have left much of this young lady's story hanging together. The sure rule in regard to doubtful matters is to interpret equivocal appearances by the well-known tenor of the lives of the parties. Ali left behind him the character of a generous and just man. Ayesha, by a series of conspicuous facts, proved herself to be guilty of great hypocrisy, indefatigable intrigue, and implacable cruelty. She was rebuked for her public conduct, after the death of Mahomet, by a man of Bassora, in these terms: 'Shame on thee, O mother of the Faithful! The murder of the caliph was a grievous crime, but was a less abomination than thy forgetfulness of the modesty of thy sex. Wherefore dost thou abandon thy quiet home, and thy protecting veil, and ride forth like a man, barefaced, on that accursed camel, to foment quarrels and dissensions among the faithful?'

We turn from these glimpses of the Arabs and their Prophet, without stopping amidst the wild vicissitudes of the history of the caliphs, and pass rapidly to the origin of the Tartar tribe, who have become memorable in Europe under the name of the Turks, or Ottomans. Organizing armies to victory on a religious principle, Mahomet was the Cromwell of the Arabs, with less of self-denial and of military genius than ennobled the Puritan. Appropriating the ideas which he found ripe for legislation, and turning them into laws, his Koran is the Code Napoleon of the East; and if he finds a modern parallel in Buonaparte, in his boundless lust for conquest, we know of none for his phenomenal sensuality, the description of which would task the congenial imaginations of a Lord Byron or a George Sand. The sins of great men become the ruin of empires, and as the French say—*Nous verrons*.

Dreams prefigured the triumphs of the Turks, oriental dreams of a kind which may be explained some day, when mental philosophy shall have given us a satisfactory theory of the phenomena of dreaming. Ertogrul dreamt that he spent a whole night reading the Koran, and was rewarded for his reverence towards the 'eternal word' by the promise that his children, and the children of his children, should always be honoured on the earth. His son Othman had also his dream. Compelled to pass two years, in rivalry with other young men, courting the hand of Malkatoun, daughter of the Sheik Edebali, a celebrated Syrian beauty, he is said to have gained the prize by reciting the following dream:

He thought he saw the moon come out of the breast of Edebali, and repose upon his own bosom. A tree then spread out its branches before him over lands and seas to the farthest limits of Europe, Asia, and Africa. Four great mountains—the Caucasus, Atlas, Taurus, and Hemus—supported the heavy



branches ; and on the sides of the mountains flowed four rivers, the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Danube. Their course watered plains green with pastures, yellow with harvests, black with forests ; and bore vessels to four seas. Towers, towns, domes, pyramids crowned with crescents, elevated themselves from among the roses and cypresses of the valleys. Invitations to prayers spread from the monuments like the melodies of celestial nightingales. Suddenly the twigs and leaves of the tree flashed like the blades of lances and sabres ; and the breeze turned them towards Constantinople. This capital, which is situated between two seas, sparkled like a sapphire upon a ring between two emeralds. It was the ring of the nuptials of Othman with the capital of the world.

The histories of Othman, and his sons Orkhan and Aladdin, show how hardy habits, cunning, courage, the passion for conquest, and an enthusiasm for the unity of God, enabled a tribe of mountaineers to found an empire. Old Ertogrul used annually to feed his flocks in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Angelocoma on Mount Olympus. His shepherds complained of being insulted and robbed by the occupants of the fortress ; who, in their turn, retorted upon his armed shepherds the charge of having been the aggressors. Ertogrul disarmed his men, and consented to send every year the women of his tribe to deposit valuable pledges ; goats'-hair carpets, sheep-skins, horse harness, cheese, and honey in the fortress as security for the good conduct of his shepherds, while his flocks browsed on the green pastures of the Lord of Angelocoma. His son Othman, however, planned and executed a perfidy which the Byzantine lord had from the first suspected, without, as often happens, taking precautions against it. Sixty warriors, disguised in the mantles and veils of women, entered the fortress, carrying in the sacks borne by their camels, arms instead of presents, and suddenly seized the castle. The Greek nobleman, returning from an expedition, was the same night waylaid, surprised, and defeated by Othman in the pass of Eremeni. Othman next attacked and seized Kara-Hissar, or the Black Fortress, which he made his capital, and which obtained for him the title of Emir or Prince, from the nominal sultan of all the Turks. This sultan, Aladdin III., dying without a successor, and Othman having surprised Jar-Hissar, killed his rivals, and extended the terror of his name, was left without a superior in Syria, and without an equal among the Turkish emirs. His effigy was struck upon the money, and his name was mentioned in the public prayers of the mosques. Othman, his name, signifies bone-breaker. When he was a boy, the governor of Kepri-Hissar, the Castle of Bridges, had given him an entertainment, but had presented him his hand to kiss.

When his uncle DüNDAR, a venerable man, nearly a hundred years old, reproved his intention of revenging this imaginary affront of his childhood, he killed the old man with a blow of his bow. Kepri Hissar fell before his armies. Two victories gained successively over the Heteriarch, who commanded the guards of the Emperor of Byzance, and over the army of the Governor of Broussa, gave Othman the whole of the plain which is bounded by the river Rhyndacus. Othman swore that neither his soldiers nor his flocks should ever cross the bed of this river, and he pretended he had faithfully kept his treaty, when they passed over to the prohibited side, along the shore, and at the mouth where the river runs into the sea.

The lieutenant of Othman, Kara-Ali, conquered the beautiful island of Kalolimno, which seemed a step from Asia to Europe. Othman rewarded him with the most beautiful Greek girl of the island. The boats found in the bays of Kalolimno conveyed the Ottoman pirates to the island of Chio, renowned as the garden of the East, and for its odoriferous gums and lovely women. A nocturnal surprise, massacre, and pillage, made them masters of Chio. Some of the inhabitants escaped to sea in boats, and perished in a tempest, within view of their country in flames. A small number only succeeded in reaching a citadel, the gates of which they closed against the pirates of Othman, who extended their ravages throughout the whole Archipelago, from the Gulf of Satalia to the Gulf of Mount Athos. The Greek emperor, Andronicus, sought the protection of a Turkish emir, Khodabenda, to whom he gave his sister in marriage, and who promised to restrain his countrymen, and especially Othman. Detained, himself, at Jenischyr, by gout, Othman sent his son Orkhan against Broussa, which the emperor Andronicus authorized to capitulate, on condition of paying annually thirty thousand golden ducats to the successors of Othman, a ransom which was paid for three hundred years. The messenger who carried to Othman the news of the victory of Orkhan, met messengers carrying to the latter the news of the approaching death of his father. The conquest of Broussa had been the life-dream of Othman, and he begged his son with his dying breath to bury him there. His double-edged sword is to this day a symbol on the Ottoman standards; one edge of it threatening Asia, and the other Europe. He made a public profession of repentance for the murder of his uncle, and ordered his secretaries to record his shame in his history, as a warning against anger. Oddly enough, the Turks call him 'Othman the Mild,' and whenever a new sultan is crowned, the people cry aloud to heaven to give him the mildness of Othman!

Orkhan and Aladdin, the two sons of Othman, divided between

them, without jealousy, the government of the new empire. The eldest, recognized as supreme, devoted himself to the executive, and his brother as *vizer*, or burden bearer, undertook the legislative functions. Orkhan spent his life in extending the empire, and Aladdin spent his in consolidating it. The governor of the fortress of Semendria, two hours' march from Scutari, having opened his gates to let out the funeral of his son, the Turks rushed in and took the town. The daughter of the Greek governor of Aïdos, smitten with the beauty of Abderrahman, whom she had seen fighting on horseback under the walls of the town, threw him a letter attached to a stone, which informed him of a secret passage through which he might pass and seize the garrison asleep. The son of this woman, by her Turkish lover, called Kara-Abderrahman, became a dreadful scourge to the Greeks.

The sultans call themselves Osmanli, or sons of Othman or Osman. The organization of the future empire was the business of Aladdin. An idea borrowed from the caliphs of Bagdad suggested the formation of the *corps* of Janissaries, or new soldiers. They consisted of the sons of Christians who had embraced Islamism, and who could recommend themselves to their new masters only by acts of furious zeal against their old faith.

Just as springs and weights serve to show the strength of mechanical forces, there are certain facts and practices which measure moral forces. The tremendous force of the lust for power in the breast of Othman and his successors is apparent in the institution of fratricide as a 'kanun,' or fundamental and constitutional principle, in regulating the succession and securing the stability of the throne. Fratricide is an imperial law. In the constitution of Othman it is written :—'A majority of the legislators have declared it is permissible that whoever of my illustrious children and grandchildren mounts the throne, should order his brothers to be assassinated, in order to preserve the peace of the world ; let them, therefore, act in accordance with this.'

Fratricide has accordingly prevailed in the families of the sultans from the time of Amurat down to our day. Bajazet committed the first fratricide in extraordinary circumstances. The Hungarians, Albanians, Epirotes, Bosnians, and Servians, had taken up arms in defence of their countries and their religion. They occupied the vast plain of Cossova, and were greatly more numerous than the Turks. When Bajazet, the son of Amurat, was advised to place his camels in advance, he rejected the proposal as unworthy of the conquerors of Asia. 'Victory,' said he, 'belongs to him who believes himself victor, and not to him who fears to be vanquished.' Ali Pasha declared that he had turned up texts in the Koran which promised him victory. Amurat sought in the combat the glory of martyrdom, and himself led on



the centre of his army. The Christians were routed. In the evening he sat in his tent listening to the captives who were successively brought to him to beg for their lives and liberties.

The Servians alone had not fled, and were all either dead or wounded. They consisted of various mountain tribes, governed by chieftains of clans or villages, under their king or kral, Lazarus. This king had given two of his daughters in marriage to two chieftains named Brankowich and Milosch. A bitter jealousy raged between the two chieftains, which was, of course, shared by the two sisters. The wife of Brankowich told her sister Mara, the wife of Milosch, that her husband was a coward and a traitor. Mara answered the calumnies by a slap on the face. The quarrel was referred to the arbitration of a combat between the brothers-in-law. Milosch beat down Brankowich with his sword to the foot of his horse, and then generously spared his life. Brankowich, whose hatred was only envenomed by this generosity, accused his brother-in-law publicly at the royal table, on the eve of the battle, of having a parricidal understanding with Amurat. 'Answer,' said the king, who shared the suspicions. 'I will answer to-morrow,' replied Milosch. 'If you are innocent,' said the king, 'drink this full cup to my health.' 'Pass me the cup,' cried Milosch, 'and I will prove my fidelity to-morrow at sunrise.' During the battle, although wounded, he fought like a hero. When it was over he swam on his horse across the river, and arriving bleeding and exhausted at the tent of Amurat, solicited permission to kiss the feet of the sultan. Amurat, elated with the homage of a son-in-law of the king of Servia, ordered him to be introduced. Milosch, kneeling, took one of the feet of the sultan in his left hand, as if to embrace it, while with his right he plunged a concealed poignard into the body of Amurat. After knocking down eight of the guards, Milosch reached his horse, and had attained the Servian side of the river before he was overtaken and slain by the horsemen of Bajazet. While Amurat lay bathed in his blood Lazarus was brought before him, and received from the dying sultan the sentence of death. 'Great God,' cried the king of the Servians, 'thou mayest now call me to thee, since I have seen the enemy of my religion, my people, and my family, die before me by the hand of an unjustly suspected warrior.' The Servian king and all his nobles were beheaded at the door of the tent of the sultan; but the sacrifice of Milosch arrested the conquest of Servia, and his descendants have remained during five centuries to the present time, preserving the independence of their country alike against menaces from Constantinople and St. Petersburg.

Amurat left two sons equally dear to the Ottoman army, Jacob and Bajazet. During the night following the death of Amurat,

the grand vizier, Ali Pasha, convoked a divan in the tent of the sultan, and beside his corpse. A disputed succession was feared, less from the rivalry of the brothers or the character of Jacob, than from his popularity in the army. The Koran says, 'an execution is better than a rebellion.' The counsellors issued from the imperial tent, and entered the tent of Jacob with the sentence of death. His corpse, which was left lying outside his tent, informed the army in the morning that they had only one master, the Sultan Bajazet. In this prompt way the army was informed that the race of Othman would not spare even their own blood for the safety and unity of the empire. The law thus savagely inaugurated has never fallen into desuetude. The Bedouin who buried his daughters alive, that they might not share his food, has always had his lineal descendant in the sultan who has strangled his brothers, lest they should seek his throne. Of Murad III. and Mohamet III., both contemporaries of the English Queen Elizabeth, it is recorded, for example, that the one strangled five and the other nineteen of his brothers, on coming to the throne. Mahomet, the founder of the religion, rebuked the Bedouin, who was an infanticide from want, and Othman, the founder of the dynasty, legalized fratricide in favour of family ambition;—a flagrant contradiction between the religious teacher and his imperial disciple. The present Sultan, Abdul Medjid, is praised by his flatterers as the first son of Othman who has not sought the security of his throne from fratricide! What depths of barbarity and sycophancy still disgrace humanity in this year, A.D. 1855!

A singular fate befel Mustapha, one of the sons of Bajazet. During the reign of this sultan, the Turks having rapidly degenerated under the influence of success, and sunk down into the base vices of the Greeks they had conquered, were attacked by Timor the Tartar, who had issued from Samarcanda at the head of immense hosts, and after a great battle and terrible slaughter of Moslem against Moslem, routed the Turks upon the plain of Angora. Bajazet entered the battle-field with five sons, named Soliman, Moussa, Isa, Mahomet, and Mustapha. Overtaken in his flight with his son Isa, and brought before Timor, Bajazet seemed less afflicted by the defeat of his army than by the loss of his four sons. Timor generously commanded a search to be made, and news was brought of them all except one, Mustapha, who was not heard of for twenty years, and who was believed to have fallen in the battle. Bajazet died in captivity. The three brothers, Soliman, Moussa, and Mahomet divided the empire, and carried on war against each other until two of them were killed, and the third reunited his father's empire as Mahomet I. His son Murad II., had in his turn ascended the throne, when



news was brought that the lost Mustapha had reappeared, and supported by Hungarian and Greek princes, and by Djouneyd, governor of Nicopolis, who had been brought up with him at his father's court, and who had fought by his side on the field of Angora, was at the head of an army of 40,000 men, asserting his right to the throne as the Sultan Mustapha. His story was highly probable. Having fallen wounded and insensible on the battle-field, when he became conscious he found himself stripped naked, without any sign of his former rank about him, incapable of understanding a word of the language of the victors, who in their turn neither heeded nor understood the sounds addressed to them by one of their slaves. He was marched in the gang of slaves in the rear of the army of Timor, as far as Samarcanda. At length, after being sold and resold, and passing twenty years chiefly as a camel-keeper, he was bought by a merchant of Bokhara who took him to Bagdad, where his language was understood and his story believed, and whence he was conveyed to Turkey. The unpopularity of Murad, and the justice of his claims, put Mustapha at the head of an army, which was, however, defeated at Salonica. He owed his safety to the swiftness of his horses, and spent the remainder of his days in the convent of the Virgin Mary on the Island of Lemnos, as an exile under the protection of the Greek emperors.

The rapidity of Turkish degeneracy, when subjected to the temptations which follow successful conquests, must be ascribed in part to the influence of Mahometanism. When Bajazet returned from the conquest of Adrianople, the Servian princess he had wedded had already given him a taste for the wines of Hungary and Cyprus. Monstrous depravity had spread in his army, and those mutilations and perversions of the sexes had commenced which have hung as a moral pestilence, a cloud of infamy, a sign and a cause of doom alike over Greek and Turkish Constantinople for more than a thousand years.

During the reigns of Bajazet and Mahomet I., a singular development took place among the Turkish people, of the ideas which have since been known in Europe under the names of communism, or red-democracy. Luxury had spread among the chiefs, and dreams and schemes of enjoyment inflamed the imaginations of their followers. Mahomet himself seems to have struck the first key-note of this fanaticism on the day in which he returned to Mecca, and smashed three hundred and sixty idols in the temple, beginning with the image of a dove. 'The truth is come,' he cried; 'let the lies vanish. There is no other god but God. No more idolatry! No more inequality! No more differences on earth founded upon old genealogies and ancestors. All men are children of Adam, and Adam was the child of the

dust. The end of society is a brotherhood. The most prized by God is he who fears and serves him best upon the earth.'

Mahometans, Christians, Jews, Greeks, and Turks became all wild together during the reign of Mahomet I., with visions of happiness to be obtained by association, brotherhood, and the partition of property. A monk named Bedredien was the chief of these Oriental communists. The ideas had first manifested themselves in Arabia and Persia, and spread naturally enough from the common pasturages in the Balkan Mountains. Bedredien soon found himself at the head of 10,000 armed men, but Mahomet sent his son Murad against him with a powerful army, which defeated his forces, and made him prisoner. Bedredien was exhibited publicly at Ephesus, chained, mutilated, and crucified upon a camel. His followers were offered their lives on condition of renouncing their master, but they answered 'No!' and stretching out their necks to the sabres, cast a last look upon their chief, saying—'Father, receive our souls into thy kingdom.' Many of the sect believed that their prophet came to life again, and lived concealed in the pine forests of the Island of Samos. The sects of Oriental communists were not finally suppressed in Turkey until 3000 Derviches who taught their doctrines were caught and hung on the trees in the valley of Magnesia. From the East communism passed into Germany, where it reappeared among what were called the Anabaptists. In England it was displayed by Jack Cade and his followers, who sung—

'When Adam delved and Eve span,  
Where was then the gentleman?'

and again by the Levellers, who were put down by Oliver Cromwell. Babœuf represented it in the first French Revolution, when he sought by an armed conspiracy to establish a state of society the motto of which should be, 'Liberty, equality, and common happiness.' Insignificant in Italy and England, in 1848, communism played a considerable part in France and Germany. The communists are organized in India into a secret society called the Assassins or Ishmaelites, whose chief, Hassan Sabba, gave them for symbol a dagger, and for motto the words,—  
'Do all and dare all.'

Popular delusions pass away leaving their lessons behind them, and a Turkish proverb says—'Fish corrupt first at the head.' When reflecting on the history of the imperial and despotic houses of Palæologus, Othman, and Romanoff, we are struck with the identity of the crimes, treasons, conspiracies, and revolutions which have been their common lot. Emperors, czars, and sultans have all been stained with kindred blood. If a Paul I. was strangled in his bed in 1801, on the banks of the Neva, the lifeless body of Selim III. was in 1807 thrown over the walls of

the Seraglio on the banks of the Bosphorus; and both were slain for being under the influence of Buonaparte. The very crimes which brought merited retribution down upon the Greek emperors have been practised alike by czars and sultans. A Peter called Great puts to death his son Alexis, just as a Bajazet strangles his brother Jacob, for reasons of state. The guards, whether called Prætorians, Preobrachenski, or Janissaries, have played the same parts of lawless violence and ruthless assassination in the Greek, the Ottoman, and the Russian palaces. In the north, the murdered monarchs might have been called the third Peter or Ivan, and in the east the sultan (more frequently dethroned than assassinated) might have borne the name of Mustapha or Achmed, but there is an absolute identity in the phenomena of anarchy and crime.

The volumes before us do not supply a want which indeed has never as yet been satisfied by writers of travels on Turkey, we mean, full and correct information respecting the Greek population. According to all accounts Mahometanism and Christianity are there mere names and forms. Turks, Russians, and Grecians, alike have only enough of their religions to fight for them, but they do not embody them in their lives. Processions and ceremonies are observed; and once when the Greeks received permission to spend a certain number of days in repairing one of their churches, thousands of them worked day and night voluntarily and gratuitously, and instead of repairing it they rebuilt it. In the Moscovite, however, as in the ancient Turk, the extension and exaltation of his religion is the generous mask of his ambition. The Greek church resembles the Church of England more than any other body, in doctrine and dependence on the State. The royal supremacy of the czars, in regard to which Peter the Great played a similar part to Henry VIII., is more strictly carried out than ever it has been in England. Delinquent clergymen are not more leniently dealt with by Nicolas than fraudulent generals. The czar Peter himself chanted in the public ceremonies as the first of the bishops.

‘The Russian synod,’ says the author of ‘Turkey, its History and Progress,’ ‘receives an annual report as to the conduct of the clergy of the Greek church in the Russian empire. In 1853, 260 clergymen were stripped of their functions for dishonouring crimes, and 4,986 punished for lesser offences. In the year 1839, there was one criminal to every twenty clergymen, and from 1836 to 1839 no less than 15,443 were found guilty. Of the church itself we will quote a passage from the Marquis de Custine’s ‘Russie en 1839.’—“I would wish to send Christians to Russia, to show them what can become of Christianity when taught by a state church, and when carried out under the inspection of a clergy selected by such a church. The sight of the humiliation into which the clergy fall, when merely dependent upon the state, would make every consistent Protestant shudder.”’



The history of journalism in Turkey throws light on the French influence, which is called reformation. Verninhac, envoy-extraordinary of the French Republic, printed for some time a gazette at the palace in Pera. In 1811, and during the Russian campaign, the French embassy printed and distributed extracts from the bulletins of the grand army. In 1825, M. Alexandre Blacque established the 'Spectateur de l'Orient.' Under the title of the 'Courrier de Smyrne,' this journal exercised a marked influence upon the events which distinguished the close of the Greek insurrection from 1825 to 1828. The author of 'Turkey, its History and its Progress,' pays an odd compliment to the influence of this journal when he says, 'It alone defended, against the whole European press, the rights and interests of the Porte, and contributed largely to the overthrow, and perhaps to the assassination, of Capo d'Istrias.' The Sultan Mahmoud summoned M. Blacque to Constantinople, in 1831, to set up the 'Moniteur Ottoman' in French. Next year appeared the Table of Events, or 'Takvimi Vakai,' which was a reprint in Turkish of the official part of the 'Moniteur Ottoman.' M. Blacque died suddenly at Malta, in 1836, while on a voyage to France, and his two successors on the journal died with equal suddenness within two years and a half. 'Public opinion suspected a political reason.' After a few years, the place of the journal was taken by the 'Djeridei Havadiiss,' and the 'Takvimi Vakai' remained the sole official paper. When M. Blacque gave up the 'Courrier de Smyrne' to M. Bousquet Deschamps, it changed its title from Courier to Journal; and the City of Smyrna, which was the first to possess a journal, soon boasted of five. M. Bargigli, Consul-General of Tuscany, founded, in 1838, the 'Echo de l'Orient.' M. Edwards, some time afterwards, published the 'Impartiel,' first in English, and afterwards in French; and it is the only one of the three journals published in French which has held its ground in Smyrna, where two journals are published in Greek, one in Armenian, and one in Hebrew. Thirteen journals are published in Constantinople, most of which, especially those discussing politics, receive an annual subvention of thirty thousand piastres a piece. Four of these journals appear in French, four in Italian, two in Turkish, one in Greek, one in Armenian, and one in Bulgarian. Thirty-two or thirty-three journals appear in all in the Turkish empire; some of them at Belgrade, Beyrout, Alexandria; and a few of them in Turkish, but most of them in French. No one can fail to find matter for reflection in this history of the brief existence of the Turkish press. There are two journals published in Turkish and four in French in Constantinople, and no journal appears in English. A journal contributing to an assassination; three editors suspected of dying

for political reasons; and many more journals published in foreign languages, especially in French, than in the language of the country, are facts in which men of reflection and experience will find revelations. The absence of an English journal is a circumstance which cannot be favourable to English interests; and politeness to our Allies does not require us to forget the historical fact, that visions of Oriental conquests have kindled as many imaginations in Paris as ever they can inflame in St. Petersburg.

Professor Creasy's volume did not reach us in time to be incorporated in the foregoing. We are, therefore, reduced to the necessity of omitting it altogether, or of contenting ourselves with a very scanty notice. Of the two alternatives, we prefer the latter. The volume, which we have read through, is one of the most interesting historical compositions which has ever fallen in our way. In style it is easy, flowing, transparent, and sufficiently stately for the purposes of history; while the research indicated is so wide and diversified as to embrace the large range of topics which such a narrative should include. The work is to consist of two volumes, the second is promised early this year. It is mainly founded on Von Hammer's 'History of the Ottoman Empire,' which was the result of thirty years' labour, and has done more for Turkish history than the productions of all other scholars. It must not, however, be supposed that Professor Creasy's work is a mere abridgment. Nothing can well be farther from the truth. It is an independent history, for which the prior labours of Von Hammer have supplied the larger portion of materials. Information has been sought in various other directions, and the whole has been condensed into a continuous narrative, which has much more than the ordinary attractions of historical writing.

In 1841, Professor Creasy delivered a course of lectures on Turkish history in University College, London, and the researches to which he was then led prepared the way for the present work. Little, if any portion of his Lectures is retained in its original form. The materials have been recast,—the authorities re-examined,—and various points of historical interest, which were probably omitted altogether, or only glanced at in his Lectures, have been subjected to a searching and thorough scrutiny. Professor Creasy's history does not deal with the Turks at large, but with that branch of them which bears the name of Ottoman, and which first appears in history about the middle of the thirteenth century. We must content ourselves with a very cordial recommendation of the history,—of the style of which the following brief extract, relating to the last of the Greek emperors, who was slain in the defence of Constantinople against the Sultan Mahomet II., is but a fair specimen.



'The chief hero of the defence was Constantine himself. He knew that his hour was come, and prepared to die in the discharge of duty, with the earnest piety of a true Christian and the calm courage of a brave soldier. On the night before the assault he received the Holy Sacrament in the church of St. Sophia. He then proceeded to the great palace, and lingered for a short time in the halls where his predecessors had reigned for so many centuries, but which neither he nor any prince sprung from his race was ever to see again. When he had passed forth from his palace to take his station at the great breach, and there await his martyrdom, all thoughts of earthly grandeur were forgotten; and turning to those around him, many of whom had been his companions from youth, Constantine asked of them, as fellow-Christians, their forgiveness for any offence that he had ever committed towards them. Amid the tears and prayers of all who beheld him, the last of the Cæsars then went forth to die.'

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ART. II.—*Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the London Corporation.* 1844.

2. *Report of the Shipping Dues' Commissioners.* 1854. Parliamentary Paper.
3. *Calver on the Improvement of Tidal Rivers.* 8vo. pp. 101. London: John Weale.
4. *Mr. Hume's Memorial to the Admiralty on the State of the Tidal Harbours of the United Kingdom.* 'Shields Gazette,' August 11, 1854.
5. *The Coal Mines.* By J. Mather. 8vo. pp. 102. London: Longman & Co. 1853.

IN our number for June last year we offered some observations on the necessity for making so prime and universal a necessary of life as fuel free, and consequently cheap, and pointed out some of the causes by which the light and warmth of the people are made unnecessarily dear. Both in a sanitary and economical point of view the subject is one of great interest; and as some important steps have been recently taken by government, we again solicit attention to the topic. We shall confine ourselves as before to the coal trade between the Tyne and the Thames.

The spirit aroused by the first Reform Bill is approaching its natural goal of entire freedom of trade. The present government is well disposed to aid its development. The President of the Board of Trade has been heard to express a wish that the day might soon arrive when the Custom-house of England would

be to let. Among other recent indications of this enlightened policy, royal commissions have appeared on the Tyne and the Thames, and have recommended the immediate abolition of the charter laws and taxes of the old corporations—those ‘local dues’ or ‘petty customs,’ in especial, which increase the price of coal. In order to carry their enterprise against these formidable old corrupt corporations to a successful issue, the government will require the sympathy and co-operation of the public, and therefore we think the time appropriate for again addressing our readers on the subject.

The local dues or petty customs which hamper the trade of most of our ports have just been condemned by a royal commission appointed to visit the various ports and harbours, in order to inquire into their operation; and we cannot help thinking that were the public feeling, which during the next session of Parliament will be aroused to sweep away the ‘petty’ customs, directed also against *all* duties on the prime necessities and innocent requirements of life, the gigantic absurdity of our Custom-house establishment would cease to overshadow our trade. Free trade and custom-houses are directly antagonistic; and in the present temper of the nation we believe it would not require one-tenth of the effort which abolished the corn laws to strike off the intolerable and costly shackles with which our present Custom-house cripples our commerce. That there would be difficulties of detail we are well aware, but none which a resolute government might not easily overcome.

From a parliamentary paper, dated February 3, 1854, moved for by Mr. Hutt, the member for Gateshead—to whom the commercial interests owe so much—we learn that the total amount of local or municipal dues collected in the port of Newcastle on coals and coke exported was £20,207 16s. in the year 1851, and £19,720 8s. 8d. in the year 1852; and that the London corporation dues on coal amounted in 1851 to £168,421 7s. 7d., and in 1852 to £165,543 10s. 5d. On the Tyne and the Thames we have, according to this parliamentary paper, about £180,000 of local taxation on the article of coals alone used in the metropolis!

In 1851 there were imported into London 3,246,287 tons of sea-borne coal, on which the gross duties (at 13d. per ton) amounted to £175,840 10s. 11d., and the net duties, after allowing drawback and cost of collecting, were £165,461 1s. 3d. The quantity imported landwise the same year was 224,339 tons, giving a duty of above £12,000. But this is not all. ‘There are also,’ says Mr. A. Brown, the chamberlain, ‘certain tonnage dues payable at the Custom-house on vessels laden with coals arriving in the port of London, but I have no means of ascertain-

ing them separately from the amount paid on vessels laden with other articles.'—(Parliamentary Paper, No. 29, 1852.)

The 13d. a-ton is the gross total of all the London corporation dues. One of these is a 4d. due, respecting which we find (in Parliamentary Paper No. 28, 1852)—

|  |         |    |    |
|--|---------|----|----|
| Annual produce (gross) at 4d a-ton, 1851 . . . . .   | £54,104 | 15 | 8  |
| Salaries, being cost of collection . . . . .   | 215     | 10 | 0  |
| Drawback on coals exported . . . . .   | 3,059   | 17 | 8  |
| Retiring allowances paid to deputy seacoal meters, <i>on the abolition of their offices (!)</i> . . . . .  | 7,607   | 6  | 10 |
| Charge made in aid of city improvements, upon which the sum of £55,000 has been raised—that is, the 4d. due mortgaged to that amount—for making New Cannon-street and other improvements . . . . . | 20,000  | 0  | 0  |

'The above duty being the property of the corporation of London, the balance (£35,000) is (after paying the above £20,000) carried to the general account of the corporation, and applied in aid of municipal government, administration of justice, prisons, magistracy, police, and other purposes, in respect of which the funds of the corporation are chargeable. A. BROWN, Chamberlain.'—That is to say, not content with the £70,000 per annum of profit which the corporation absorbs from the coal tax, they—the *city* authorities—have here taken £35,000 more to themselves, and given £20,000 to Cannon-street, leaving the coal-consuming people of the *whole* metropolis to pay it!

Then there is the 8d. per ton, amounting to £108,000 and upwards, and the 1d. per ton, which goes to the Woods and Forests, and which in 1851 came to £13,654 13s. 4d.

The dues, of course, are deeply 'dipped;' the corporations both of Newcastle and London having, like other spendthrifts of an easy and ill-gotten income, been always in advance of their account, and having taken especial care, so soon as they saw danger threatening to their monopoly from the spirit of inquiry and reform which was abroad, to mortgage their income heavily, and invest the money in *borough* property.

It is to be hoped, however, that as both of these corporations, in proportion to their real wants, are enormously wealthy,\* they will be compelled to give back, for the improvement of the navigation of the rivers Tyne and Thames, at least those sums for which the river dues have been of late years mortgaged.

The inhabitants of Marylebone, in their memorial against the coal dues of London, show that there is no charge on the 4d. duty

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\* What the real wealth of either of the corporations is, remains, we believe, unknown. In spite of every effort, the rent-roll of the Newcastle property has never yet been produced.



to prevent its immediate repeal—the retiring allowance (which will vanish) and other charges being transferred to the other duties. On the 8d. and 1d. duties there is a charge of £956,839, which might be paid by the year 1859, and they petition that the duties should then cease.

We think, however, that the duties should cease immediately, and that the borough fund of London city should be charged with the liquidation of this debt. It is quite scandalous that the waste and profusion of the city rulers should continue to be a burden on the fuel of all the working-men of the metropolis; and for the corporation to be preaching free-trade and cherishing these protective duties is mere hypocrisy.

These direct local taxes by no means constitute the whole of the unnecessary burdens on coal. There are, as we before said, the unnecessary waste of life in the coal mines; the burdens arising from ‘wayleaves’; the oppressive ballast system of Newcastle, as well as its direct borough tax on coal; the destruction of property caused by the dangerous navigation of the river, the want of docks, and the terrible destruction of ships and seamen at the mouth of the Tyne for want of proper engineering works (all of which the river dues, properly expended on the river, would have paid for long ere this); the infamous extortions of ‘Trinity dues’ and ‘passing tolls’; and finally, after the London corporation taxes,\* the system of the coal merchants and factors, which greatly increases the price of fuel to the Londoner, and which, were the trade quite free, would speedily be broken up.

Let us draw the reader’s attention briefly to some of these topics.

Mr. James Mather’s admirable little work† contains much valuable information on the dangers and difficulties of coal mining and miners, and we urge every one concerned for the welfare of this interesting class of men to peruse it. Mr. Mather has, among many other benevolent efforts for which he is well known in the north, devoted much attention to the best methods of alleviating the lot of the coal miner. He was associated with Mr. Gurney in his beautiful and valuable application of the steam-jet to the ventilation of mines. He shows that of the 160,000 individuals employed in the coal mines, about 1000 fall victims every year to accidents and explosions. He enters into an inquiry as to the causes of this destruction of life; and in his chapters on Inspection, Ventilation, Safety-lamps, Coroners’

\* A writer in ‘Fraser’s Magazine’ says, ‘The gross amount received into the civic chamber or treasury in 1852 may be stated in round numbers at £550,000,’ of which he gives £200,000 as the coal duty, £28,000 as the river dues, and £47,000 as the ‘Bridge House estates.’

† The Coal Mines, their Dangers, and Means of Safety. 8vo. pp. 102. Longman & Co. 1853.

Inquests, and Education for the mines, points out what seems to him the best plan of obviating it.

His explanation of the steam-jet is very clear, and the wonderful effects of this new plan of ventilating mines are strikingly shown in many instances. The mine of St. Hilda's at South Shields, on the 31st December, 1852, was so full of explosive gas 'that no naked light was allowed to approach the shaft,' and after lying waste till the following May, it was completely cleared of gas by the steam-jet. Strong controversies have taken place in the north on the respective merits of the furnace and steam-jet modes of ventilation, and much evidence on both sides has been given both in the mining districts and before parliamentary committees. It is very evident, however, that the working-men of Seaton Delaval colliery near Newcastle, where both plans have been well tried, prefer the steam-jet; that the system has been 'in effective working for four years;' and that in the pit of St. Hilda's just named, a distinguished opponent of the steam-jet plan of ventilation used it successfully for clearing his own colliery of fire-damp, to which of course no furnace ventilation was applicable.

The reader is aware that 'furnace ventilation' is effected by placing a large fire at the bottom of the pit-shaft, the current caused by the heated air ascending the 'upcast' shaft, and by the cool air drawn through the mine from another shaft (the 'down-cast') to feed the fire and in its turn to ascend, constituting the ventilation by means of a fire, or 'furnace ventilator.' The current created by this method has reached seventeen miles an hour. 'The steam-jet ventilation,' to use Mr. Mather's words, 'is by high-pressure steam at a velocity greater than that of sound, projected against the entire volume of air in the shaft. It has produced in the upcast of one mine a rate of twenty-three miles an hour.'

We well recollect the enthusiasm with which, six years ago, we heard of this splendid discovery of the practical value of the steam-jet, and how much we rejoiced in this characteristic benevolent triumph for one bearing the honoured name of Gurney. Mr. Mather seems to have caught at it with all the philanthropic ardour of his nature, and to have, from the first moment, devoted himself to aid the discoverer in carrying his scientific principle into practical effect. We believe the steam-jet will by and by be found to be a valuable sanitary agent, not only in mines, but in freeing our old cesspools and sewers (where these are suffered to exist) of the foul gases which they generate, and which are the grand cause of the excessive mortality of towns. The case of the St. Hilda pit, in 1852—a pit which had a few years before exploded and killed above fifty men and boys, many

of whose dead bodies we saw brought to the bank amid shrieking women and sobbing men, a scene of unspeakable anguish ;—the case of this pit in December, 1852, is so illustrative of the value of the steam-jet, and of the dangers and losses which tend to enhance the price of fuel, that it will be well to notice it further.

‘ Upon the 31st December, 1852,’ says Mr. Mather, ‘ as a man was carrying a shovel of burning coals, upwards of twenty feet from the shaft, the gas from the pit caught fire at the burning coals, and in a mass of flame darted into the shaft, forming a blazing area of upwards of ninety-eight feet. It thus blazed for four hours, darting into the atmosphere in flames, sometimes forty feet high, burning down all within reach. Had it descended into the mine and exploded the fourteen million cubic feet of gas, it would have shook a portion of South Shields as with an earthquake. Fortunately, no atmospheric air had descended into the workings to form one of the most tremendous explosive mixtures in the world.’

The awful effect of the late explosion at Gateshead, which has killed between fifty and sixty people, wounded five hundred, and destroyed in one way and another property to the amount of about a million sterling, would have been greatly exceeded by the results of such an explosion as might easily have occurred in St. Hilda’s pit. Besides the town of South Shields, which would have been fired as well as shattered, the ships in the harbour, usually amounting about New Year’s-day to 1000 or 1200 vessels, sometimes far more, would in all probability have been in flames. North Shields might also have been set fire to ; and if there was a time, as we know there was at the Newcastle and Gateshead fire, when despair almost quenched hope, we may be well assured, that in such a conflagration as must have occurred in the crowded harbour of Shields, had St. Hilda’s pit then exploded, the bravest hearts would have quailed, and the most determined efforts have been overcome by so universal a conflagration as would have been kindled.

We remember distinctly that at the close of December, 1852, the atmosphere had for some time been in a close, ‘ muggy ’ state, the barometer having been for some days very low,\* and that our reflection was,—standing as the whole population of this district does on a vast honeycomb of coal filled with explosive gases, which only require the quiet fall of an inch and a half in

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\* ‘ At Backworth pit, Northumberland,’ says Mr. Mather, ‘ when the barometer falls to 29 inches the *stythe* hisses from the coal ; and on its rise again to 30, if sufficiently rapid, the gas hisses as it returns back into the crevices and pores. So early as 1822, at Walker Colliery, when barometers and thermometers were not much used in the mines, the men and boys, when called in the morning, would examine the state of the weather, and if the wind was at S.E., with threats of rain, *they knew the pit would be full of gas, and went to bed again.*’ Going in and out between life and death, this !



the barometer in order that they may issue from their multitudinous cells, rush to the surface of almost every pit mouth, and explode at any casual flame, laying waste the whole wealth and prosperity of old father Tyne,—the natural reflection on this view of the subject was—how, moment by moment, and on every side, are we in the merciful hands of God;—how true it is in every sense, that by Him ‘we live and move and have our being!’

Here, as the year is closing, is a vast population busy with its festivities, or winding up its yearly toils, anticipating no evil, least of all dreaming of the volcano beneath its feet; meantime the barometer falls a little, the invisible deadly gases rise, spread invisibly, and touching the fire that passes at twenty yards’ distance, the whole breath and throat of the subterranean monster shoots into flame. One hundred feet broad, forty feet high shoots forth this terrible tongue of fire, and there it burns, unquenched, unquenchable, for four hours!

How dreadful both to the ignorant and the intelligent inhabitants must this phenomenon have been! The ignorant vaguely shaping unknown and hitherto unimagined dangers; the more experienced and philosophical alarmed lest the common air might find its way in quantity among the gases which filled all these subterranean chambers of death, and explode with an earthquake’s force! For some hours the fate of Lisbon or Calabria must have seemed suspended over the awe-stricken inhabitants of South Shields.

No furnace of course could here be lighted for ventilation; the danger was lest this huge furnace might draw such supplies of fresh air into the pit as to form a vast explosive mixture. ‘The enemy was in possession. Nothing but the jets in this grave dilemma could save the mine,’ says Mr. Mather. On the 14th May the jets were erected; on the 21st the mine was clear. ‘This valuable property,’ continues the author, ‘has thus been placed under command and in safety by the steam-jet, when no other power could be brought to bear.’

But we must hasten on, contenting ourselves with saying that better ventilation, greater care, a more perfect and general education of the mining population are the means recommended for lessening the dangers of the collieries, and increasing the production of coal than at present; that these are now seen by the mining population themselves to be necessary; that they have appealed, so far, successfully to Parliament, and that all classes, from the Duke of Northumberland, the greatest coal owner near the Tyne, to the meanest pit lad, are bent on the necessary reforms.

Injudicious speculations, wrong sites, dangers from water, dangers from fire, all these are now in number much lessened;

modern geological science has enabled the miners to sink their shafts with great precision, while modern mechanical science has cheapened locomotion and enabled them to deliver enormous quantities of water from great depths. Thus then to come back to our economical argument, we must look to modern science, and to inspection, for the purpose of lessening the expense of raising coal.\* 'State care and better knowledge,' these are Mr. Mather's recommendations.

Having got the fuel to the pit mouth, immediately various exactions seize upon it. The land being chiefly in the hands of a few great proprietors, who are also the owners of the collieries, heavy monopolist charges are made for leave to the lessees to carry their coal to the places of shipment on the river Tyne. The 'tram-roads,' formerly wooden, now iron single lines of railway, passing to the river from the pit, pay, under the quaint old feudal names of 'wayleave,' 'double damage,' 'tentale,' &c., excessive tolls for the privilege. Free parliamentary lines of railway through the great coal-fields are the cure for this evil; and a vigorous effort, in the session of Parliament for 1852-3, to procure such a railway through the great northern fields of steam coal to the deep water docks at the mouth of the Tyne, though unsuccessful with regard to the proposed railway, because arrayed against the whole monopolist system, from the duke to the 'freeman,' which exists in and round Newcastle, had the effect of so completely opening the eyes of Parliament to the injustice of the 'wayleave system,' that no future railway will be permitted to be burdened with this impost. Meantime the wayleave tax remains to raise the price of coals on the Tyne, and as speedily as may be, it should be abolished. One great landowner alone on the Tyne levies a tax of £10,000 a year on coals in Wayleaves. The main objection to the system, however, is that it *excludes* large coal fields from the market, and combines with the other monopolies of Tyne side.

Next come the dangers and the dues of the river Tyne, both of them resulting from the rapacity and carelessness of the corporation of Newcastle.

The dues may soon be dismissed. Since the nineteenth century commenced, the town, the corporation—that is, the house landlords of Newcastle—have taken from the commerce of the nation on the Tyne at least A MILLION OF POUNDS STERLING, which has

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\* A proper staff of inspectors with liberal salaries; an examining board, which should also be a board of appeal in cases where the government inspector's advice was rejected by a local viewer—some such organization as this seems required to secure the proper inspection of collieries. The expense is, of course, always the objection. Suppose the examining board cost £4000; six inspectors, £6000; twelve sub-inspectors, £2400; and that 500 lives were saved—as it is believed they would, by proper care—this at £25 a man would 'pay.'

been either wasted or used to pay the rates of these landlords, or abstracted from the 'soil' of the Tyne, or applied to build up and aggrandize Newcastle town; while the river, from whose ships the dues were taken, under pretence of 'conserving' and improving its navigation, is, like the Thames, *worse* than when the century began.\* There are no docks on the Tyne, which these dues might long ere this have built;—no docks, but abundance of dangerous sands in the river; no piers to shut out the stormy billows at the mouth of the Tyne, though half the sum which the corporation has received during the last fifty years would have built them:—no piers to shelter the 42,000 arrivals and sailings of the Tyne, but *there* still are those deadly reefs, the 'Black Middens,' and the 'Herd Sand,' with their manifold wrecks and perishing seamen annually, as the winter storms come round. It is awful to think of the tragedies which have occurred at the mouth of the Tyne;—the gallant ships wrecked,—the gallant lives lost,—all, or almost all of which might, in the opinion of the best engineers, have been saved, had the corporation of Newcastle been true to their trust on the river.

Thirty-six ships were wrecked at the entrance of the Tyne during the first week of January, 1854; during one storm alone thirty-six ships! Multitudes of lives have been engulfed in the deadly breakers which stretch in every storm across the mouth of this great port,—appalling annual tragedies! enacted before the eyes of thousands congregated on the cliffs, wives, children, friends, who have watched with quailing hearts the gallant vessel near the deadly reef, seen the fatal shock, and beheld the crew perish! Ah! the wild farewells waved by the doomed seamen, struggling among the breakers, which these cliffs and shores have seen! The wife, through streaming tears, has seen the manly arm—sole stay, protection, and hope of herself and her children—wave to her, steadily, mournfully, a last adieu of love and anguish; and as she raised her listening head from the vain, agonized effort to catch his voice,—oh, horror! there his body was hanging a lifeless corpse in the shrouds! All that the eye can behold of the tragic and the terrible; all that the human heart can suffer of horror and anguish, has been seen and suffered at the mouth of the Tyne. And but for the avarice of this corporation, the short-sighted selfishness of these landlords of Newcastle, these heartrending spectacles might have been replaced by vast protecting arms of stone to shelter the flying vessel and enable her to deliver her crew into the warm embraces of their friends! Oh! who can feel anything but fierce indignation and bitter scorn for these selfish and cruel men. Yes! the grand

\* Mr. S. Leach, engineer of the Thames, declared before the royal commission that it was worse; the Admiralty know well that the Tyne is worse.



markets and quays of the town of Newcastle are built upon the bodies and cemented with the blood of the seamen of the Tyne; for had the shipping dues which have built them been expended for the protection and benefit of the shipping, millions of property, hundreds of lives would have been saved, which at the mouth of the Tyne alone have perished.

While this million of money has thus been taken from the river and applied by the landlords of Newcastle to build their public edifices and relieve their municipal rates, the navigation of the river, as has been proved before several Admiralty commissions during the past few years, has been growing *worse*. The corporation of Newcastle on the Tyne, like that of London on the Thames, were the conservators or public trustees of the navigation; but the object of both has been, without much regard to their trust, to secure to themselves individually as much of the public revenues as possible.

The property along the shores of the river has been embanked, to the injury of the general navigation; and, above all, to the great injury of the most important part of the navigation—that, viz., of the harbour and deep water near the sea. Every year, as the size of our ships is increasing,\* the importance of preserving the deep water of our bars and harbours becomes greater, yet every year the old conservators are banking out the tidal water which can alone preserve the depth of the lower reaches of our navigable rivers, and scour down the bars. The land so embanked from the tidal bed—which really belongs to the public, and is under the protection, first of the Crown as chief custodian of all navigable rivers, then of the Admiralty as agent for the Crown, and finally of the conservators as local trustees or agents for the public—these valuable foreshores have been seized by the corporation or their friends, and converted into landed estates for themselves.

\* The average tonnage of British ships entered inwards in foreign and colonial trades was in—

|                |           |                |           |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| 1814 . . . . . | 145 tons. | 1842 . . . . . | 173 tons. |
| 1825 . . . . . | 149 „     | 1853 . . . . . | 247 „     |
| 1834 . . . . . | 155 „     |                |           |

The average tonnage of British ships employed in all trades, steamers and sailing together (except river steamers), was in—

|                |           |                |           |
|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| 1849 . . . . . | 170 tons. | 1853 . . . . . | 205 tons. |
| 1851 . . . . . | 185 „     |                |           |

The ships registered in the Port of Shields are, in 1854, above 1100 in number, containing 257,712 tons, averaging therefore 235 tons each,—about three millions of shipping property registered in Shields alone, the average size of the ships increasing every year. But the number of large vessels—those above 500 tons—which can *never reach the upper part of the Tyne*, is increasing rapidly; and soon there will be 20,000 arrivals and sailings of vessels, which can never pass above the deep water of Shields.

The corporation of London, indeed, declare that they *now* keep sacred the revenues derived from the river-side property, and apply it to the improvement of the river—a very questionable statement even at the present day; while every one who knows that after the Great Fire of London the intention of government was to preserve a noble quay from Westminster to Wapping, and that the whole site has been long since filched from the river, must be aware that the corporation of London has not always made even this *pretence* of honesty.

On the Wear, too, the river soil and foreshores are considered public property; but the Newcastle corporation is still unblushingly claiming for itself and its supporters these river-side estates, which could only have been embanked from the river by the authority they possessed as *conservators* or trustees for the public under the Admiralty and the Crown.

A royal commission to investigate this shameful business in the Tyne, with an admiral at its head, will meet, perhaps before these words see the light; and every friend of free trade and foe of such public depredations must hope that this royal commission will, *at last*, vindicate the ancient title of the Crown, as chief trustee for the public, to the soil and foreshores of all our navigable rivers. With our rapidly increasing commerce, and ships increasing in size in a corresponding ratio, to sacrifice a noble deep-water harbour like that of Shields, and the navigation of a great river like the Tyne, to a set of incorporate landlords, will surely no longer be tolerated by the government or the House of Commons. The Tyne is the greatest port in the north; it has more arrivals and sailings than any port in the whole world; its tonnage is half as much as that of all Scotland, greater than that of all Ireland; yet with a million of money thus alienated from the ships to the town of Newcastle, the river Tyne has no docks! During these fifty years, not fifty shillings have been spent on the harbour of Shields, where almost the whole of the ships lie on which that million of money has been levied, and beyond which the large ships never pass. Does not this call loudly for redress?

Again, the Tyne, Wear, and Tees, ports lying within thirty miles of each other, possess a larger tonnage than the three great ports of Britain—London, Liverpool, and Glasgow;\* the passing and repassing therefore of ships along the iron-bound eastern coast is enormously great; one-fourth of the whole of the wrecks of the United Kingdom take place within seventy miles of coast,

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\* 'The united outward-bound sailing tonnage of the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees, amounted to 9400 ships more than there were from London, Liverpool, and Glasgow together; but that the tonnage of these was nearly equal.'—*'Parliamentary Return,'* 1853.

See also a statement by Mr. James Mather, wherein this subject is ably handled, March, 1854.

of which the Tyne is the centre ; yet the corporation of Newcastle, which has absorbed from the ships this million of money, will not even now give up (till she is compelled) the £10,000 which she still alienates from the river, for the purpose of assisting to convert the Tyne into a harbour of refuge !

Deputations from all the communities on the Tyne, in March, 1854, waited on the Admiralty, the President of the Board of Trade, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to solicit aid from the government towards converting the Tyne into a harbour of refuge ; but Sir James Graham, Mr. Cardwell, and Mr. Gladstone very properly refused to listen to the application until these local shipping dues were restored to their legitimate use. For the Newcastle corporation, after robbing the Tyne of a million of money since the century set in, and continuing to rob it still of £10,000 a-year, to go sturdily beggar-like to solicit help from the purse of the nation, must certainly have appeared to those heads of departments most unparalleled and astounding impudence ! It is very clear that until the local taxation of the ships is abolished, Newcastle will never receive any aid from the national purse for this truly national purpose of converting the Tyne into a harbour of refuge.

Besides this heavy direct 'town' due on coals, and the tax inflicted on the coal trade by the want of docks, and the sacrifice of life and property through the dangerous nature of the Tyne, ballast dues of the most unjust nature have been and are inflicted on the shipping. Were the ballast—the delivery of which is a monopoly—removed from the ships in 'hoppers,' or barges, as on the Wear, the shipowner would not be subjected to above half of his present expense. The system of quaying off the shores of the river, by means of which the corporation have gained large riverside estates, is still under the present commissioners carried on. In the year 1850 the conservancy of the Tyne was, after a struggle which cost the river funds between £20,000 and £30,000, transferred to a commission ; but Newcastle holds a majority in this commission, and, in spite of all the efforts of the minority, the old system is still pursued.

The commissioners who now act as conservators of the Tyne are eighteen in number : six of these, impressed with the magnitude of the injury which Newcastle is inflicting on the national interests by banking out the tidal water, have, after exhausting every effort at the local board, at length memorialized the Lords of the Admiralty to arrest this disastrous engineering.

The gentlemen of the minority state that 'the system of river management, pursued first by the corporation of Newcastle, and since 1850 by the Tyne commission, the constitution of which body *practically continues to the corporation*, and to some extent to the same individuals, the control of the river.' And



they conclude by urging on the Admiralty, 'as supreme conservators on behalf of the national interests at stake,' the propriety of procuring a 'royal commission to inquire into the facts of the case, into the extent which the interests of the corporation of Newcastle *and other landowners* are at variance with the interests of the navigation, into the constitution and operation of the commission for the improvement of the Tyne, and the necessity of a better representation within the commission, or of a control by a central authority over the acts of the commission, on behalf of the national interests which are imperilled in the management of so important a navigation.'

The injury inflicted is indeed great, and unless checked *now*, will be irremediable. The nation at large will have reason to thank these gentlemen, should their appeal result in its deserved success. So far they have been successful; their suggestion for a royal commission was adopted by the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Lindsay, the member for Tynemouth, and her Majesty has appointed the royal commission now about to open their inquiry on the Tyne.

The veteran patriot Mr. Joseph Hume, who has long laboured both as one of the tidal commissioners and in parliament to bring about a better management of our tidal rivers and harbours, and who has always been in favour of a central board to aid the local conservators, presented a very able memorial to the Admiralty on the case of the Tyne. We trust he may have the satisfaction of seeing this great national question satisfactorily solved. It is quite clear that local men *alone* are not fit to be entrusted with these national interests. It is really humiliating to see how self-interest can blind even honourable men.

The tendency of the present system in the Tyne is to force the commerce up a dangerous river, ten miles from the harbour, to the town of Newcastle, where the river is a mere creek, only fitted for the craft of the old feudal times, when Newcastle, by charter law, gained possession of the port, and to sacrifice, for the temporary advantage of those who live so far inland, the permanent interests of the whole port of Tyne. These are irrevocably bound up with the conservation of the deep water harbour, since that alone can accommodate the immense fleet of large vessels which now carry on the commerce of the port. Mr. Calver, in his admirable treatise on 'The Conservation and Improvement of Tidal Rivers'\* grapples expressly with the case of the Tyne, and points out in a conclusive manner the deep injury inflicted on the national commerce by the selfish and reckless policy of the Newcastle authorities.

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\* London: John Weale, 59, High Holborn. 8vo. pp. 101.  
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The battle of the tidal harbours of Great Britain will now, we believe, be fought out on the Tyne. May God speed the right! We have reason to know that the royal commission will be composed of men of high eminence, and that they will be aided by the most distinguished engineers, as well as by Mr. Calver and the hydrographer to the Admiralty, both of whom are so thoroughly versed in the subject; so that we may hope at length our great tidal harbours and rivers will be protected like valuable national property, and be no longer left to the harpy hands of selfish monopolists.

The Newcastle Trinity House is a monopolist corporation, which, by eating heavy dinners and charging ships high prices for their lights, inflict an unnecessary tax on coal. The coal-laden vessels also pay 'passing tolls' for harbours of refuge they never use, and which, indeed, all the 'passing tolls' in the world would not convert into harbours of refuge. The knell of all these passing tolls is now, however, about to be rung; and if the public, through Parliament, will second the royal commissioners, who have reported against all these unjust imposts on coal, they will be abolished during present session.

Our heavily taxed cargo of coals has now been conveyed to the mouth of London river, where, however, as we proceed to show, fresh burdens await it. The Thames, like the Tyne, is obstructed by shoals which impede the navigation and continually cause damage to the shipping, and so constitute a tax on the general commerce of these rivers. We have shown that the river revenues of the Newcastle corporation, going no further back than the commencement of the present century, and taking only the surplus sums remaining after all river officials and 'conservancy' expenses were paid, were amply sufficient to have made great improvements in the river channel, to have kept clear the noble harbour of Shields, and to have converted the deadly estuary of the Tyne, by means of engineering works, into a harbour of refuge. A similar story remains to be told of the Thames. The 'income proper of the London corporation,' says Mr. Stuart Wortley, the Recorder, 'averages about £200,000 per annum. Of this sum the city taxes on coal amount to £70,000 per annum'—meaning that this is the absolute profit or surplus corporation income from coal, after all conservancy and other expenses are paid. The rental of foreshore property, that is, property embanked from the river, 'not for the sake of revenue,' says the Recorder, (and which we say is, as on the Tyne, very much for the sake of the monopolists of the corporation and their friends,) 'but for the improvement of the river and the convenience of commerce;' the rental of this river property, to which the river has surely the first claim, is eleven hundred pounds

a-year. Here, then, according to the evidence of the Recorder himself, we have, independent of other sources of river revenue, £71,000 of surplus income levied on the river Thames every year, while the engineer, Mr. Stephen Leach, complains that there are many shoals in the river between Erith and the bridges which impede the navigation; that the funds of the corporation, *as at present distributed*, are not sufficient for the purpose of removing these shoals; but that the corporation funds *would be* sufficient for the purpose if the impediments which restrain the application of these funds were removed. To all which the engineer adds the statement, that the *river is becoming worse*.

What, then, are the impediments to the application of the river funds to river purposes? Lawyers' bills, 'prescriptive' fees, and sinecures; new streets, lord mayors' feasts, and payment of the City cabinet of Cockayne at a higher price than the cabinet ministers of Great Britain!\*

Lawyers' bills.—'The average legal expenses of the City are upwards of £39,000 a-year. The bills of three lawyers—the City Solicitor, the Controller, and the Remembrancer—amounted in ten years to £162,000. Surely these sums are shameful. Not that the law charges were not all right, carefully gone over by the taxing-master, and classified in the most orthodox style. But here is one-fifth of the whole City 'income proper'—above half of the coal dues 'proper,' as Mr. Recorder calls them—that is, dues levied by the corporation on the public for no purpose that the said public derives any benefit from—here is £39,000 going to fee domestic lawyers 'on an average of years.' What would any private gentleman or merchant think, one-fifth of whose income, on an average of years, went in law? We suspect he would speedily become his own controller and remembrancer, and his office would be to check and not to inflame his solicitor's accounts. If this improper surplus, or 'income proper,' did not exist, does any one think this enormous waste would be permitted? But having a surplus income proper to dissipate, and a sinking monopoly to support, the luxury of law becomes, to the old corporations, a necessary of life.

Prescriptive Fees.—Mr. Williams affirmed that the amount of fees, in addition to salaries, was £70,000, and Mr. B. Scott,

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\* According to the evidence given before the commissioners appointed to inquire into the matters connected with the Corporation of London, the annual receipts of the City from all sources are estimated to amount to no less a sum than £1,107,154. The salaries paid to the officers of the corporation amounted in 1835 to £110,980, and it is presumed that that sum is now exceeded by at least £10,000. Twelve officers of the corporation receive nett salaries amounting to £48,435, while twelve cabinet ministers receive only £45,480.



late chief clerk in the Chamberlain's office, declared 'that there are a great many fees which do not pass through the Chamberlain's accounts. These fees are received by persons as being officers of the corporation. These fees are regarded as *the property of the officer*, and not of the corporation.' And we have these *officers*, most of whom have been overpaid for any services they or their ancestors have performed, claiming *compensation* for the loss of their income, now that it is at length discovered that their office, long overpaid by the public, is really of no use to the public whatever.

New Streets.—The City paid £796,536 for New Cannon-street; the claims sent in were £1,777,153. The actual (present) loss was £200,000—(one year's corporation 'income proper,' according to Mr. Wortley)—the difference being made up by the sale of frontages. So that Cannon-street cost a million of pounds sterling. Now *the Coal Trade* of the North paid for Cannon-street, and unless the friends of cheap fuel exert themselves, they will have to pay for many new streets, and other City improvements besides; just as the coal trade of the Tyne has also paid for the new markets and quays of Newcastle; besides largely relieving the landlord's rates there.

What says the Right Honourable Stuart Wortley on this subject—repeating the words of a statement prepared by a consolidated committee, who had the management of the case of the corporation, and who were appointed by the members at large to inquire into the alleged injustice of the corporation monopoly—a committee, by the way, appointed very much on the same principles as that of the convivial club whose innocent members were dissatisfied with their wine both as to quantity and quality, and who consolidated *the landlord and waiters* into a committee of inquiry on the question. The 'Consolidated Committee' of London City, of course, consolidates the choice supporters of the monopoly, and all the chicanery by which that monopoly can be defended. Their verdict, as might be expected, is very much like that of the landlord and waiters on the bad wine and small-bottle question of their club—viz., that the wine was excellent, and the measure ample. What other verdict is to be expected from the landlords and waiters of monopolist corporations?

'With respect to the coal dues,' says Mr. Wortley, quoting the Consolidated Committee, 'the annual amount of which was £70,000 a-year, they (the committee) say, that if public improvements are to be effected, it appears difficult to devise means by which the amount required can be raised in a manner so little injurious to the public, and falling so equally upon the persons for whose use the improvements are required. . . . The avenues of the City of London are sufficient for the inhabitants of the City of London, and the necessity for their

improvement and enlargement arises from the immense concourse of people who daily frequent the City from miles around it. What then can be more equitable than that the persons residing within twenty miles round the metropolis should contribute to the improvements required for their comfort and convenience ?'

Now, we believe it would be difficult to find a more compact bundle of illogical impertinence than this of the chief officer of the London corporation. It must be remembered, that Mr. Wortley prefaced his deliverance of the consolidated committee by saying that 'he did not shrink from any part of the responsibility of it,' and therefore, whether he advocated the above ideas for his fee, or of his own free will and natural love of monopoly, he deserves to be made, as no doubt he will glory in being made, responsible for the doctrine.

Supposing a City alderman and fishmonger had used this argument,—of his own narrow doorway being enough for *him*,—how the Recorder of London would have smiled at his absurdity. The fishmonger enlarges his doorway, puts down his marble slab, makes his entrances and his exits as convenient as possible, and sends his boys with obsequious alacrity in every direction required. The 'immense concourse of people' is the very thing he desires; his chief ambition is to attract them; and for that purpose, to make all their paths to his stall as pleasant as possible. But for this immense concourse of people, what would be the value of the shops in Cheapside or Ludgate-hill? But the Recorder will say, 'Ah! those people who enter the City, and use the City thoroughfares, do not all come to purchase goods there; most are only passing through,—some to purchase goods elsewhere, many to the West-end, or to distant parts of the empire.' Well, since, then, London cannot afford, what every provincial town (except the chartered thorough toll-towns) affords,—a gratuitous passage through its streets, surely some fairer way of levying the turnpike-toll might be fallen on than that which makes dearer the sea-coal fire of the Spitalfields' weaver, the Vauxhall factory girl, the working population, in short, of the metropolis, and forty miles round it, who seldom see your new streets, and make nothing by, and care nothing for, them. Surely some more just way of building new streets, and paying these prescriptive fees and vast lawyers' bills might be adopted, than this of enhancing the price of a prime necessary of life to the poor of the metropolis. That this large body of the inhabitants of London do suffer terrible privations from the high price of fuel is an undoubted fact. Last winter the amount of suffering from this cause was frightful in the extreme; and it really is small consolation to the working man of the metropolis, when he finds, on returning from his work on a bitter winter night, his shivering

wife and pale children cowering over a few dying embers, to know that Cannon-street, and the lawyers' bills, and lord mayors' feasts, are provided out of the 'income proper' which makes his coals so dear.

We will not pursue this branch of the argument any further. Nor will we enter upon the injury done to our whole manufacturing industry by the unnecessary taxation upon a substance which is one of the raw materials of almost all manufactures. It must be very clear, from what we have said, that the system of local taxation adopted by our old chartered cities and towns is tyrannical in principle and vicious in practice; and that, besides many other unjust and unnecessary burdens, of both a public and private nature, by which the staple trade of the north and the fuel of the people of the metropolis, and for forty miles round it, is oppressed, no article suffers so much from the charter taxation as this, one of the prime necessities of life—coal.

To ask the coal trade, thus heavily burdened by *local* taxation, to contribute the same per centage to the national taxes as the corn trade, or any other trade which is free from such burdens, is not only a wrong to the producer and consumer of the article, but is a sad political blunder. In the race of competition in which we are now engaged with the other nations of the world, how necessary is it that coal—one of the raw materials, we repeat, of almost every manufacture—should be made as cheap as possible for our own people, since we now offer it freely to every other. For ages to come our coal fields will supply the manufactures of the world; and so long as we can deposit on the soil of Belgium and America, British fuel at a cheaper rate than they can raise the same kind of fuel from their own mines, the inhabitants of these countries will continue to resort to our shores for fuel, and our precedence as a manufacturing people will be preserved. Our local taxation on coal is not only a dead weight on our own manufactures, but a premium to the establishment of coal-mining in other countries, and with the establishment of coal-mines in many countries will arise the power of pushing many of our manufactures aside.

Whatever, then, tends to make our fuel dear or difficult to export, whether it be careless or unscientific methods in the mine, or heavy wayleaves, or dangerous rivers, or want of docks, or local dues, from which the coal trade derives no benefit, or harbours dangerous and difficult of access; is an injury to the nation at large, for it is injurious to the commercial and manufacturing supremacy in which is bound up the very existence of Great Britain as a first-class power.

Finally, as a natural termination to the lengthened chain of monopoly, appears the system of the coal factor and coal mer-



chant. The coal factor is the agent of the coal owner, who pays him an excessive commission for a very easy and unimportant service. He is one of the fat sinecurists of a monopolist system. Enormous fortunes are made by lucky individuals who happen to be connected, by family or other ties, with the great coal owners of the north. And that, too, for duties compared to which those of a soapboiler are difficult and scientific.

From the foregoing detail it is evident that the whole system of the coal trade, from the northern mine to the London grate, calls for reform. Instead of being free as the air or light—as such a necessary of life ought to be—it is burdened by imposts, and hampered with monopolies from beginning to end. The times are propitious for reforming these abuses. If the communities which suffer will *combine*, the light and warmth of the people will soon be free.

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- ART. III.—*Days and Hours*. By Frederick Tennyson. London. John W. Parker & Son.
2. *Day and Night Songs*. By William Allingham. London: George Routledge & Co.
3. *Fermilian; or, the Student of Badajos*. A Spasmodic Tragedy. By T. Percy Jones. Blackwood & Sons.
4. *The Vision of Prophecy and other Poems*. By James D. Burns, M.A. Edinburgh: Johnstone & Hunter.
5. *Passion-Flowers*. Boston: Ticknor, Read & Fields.
6. *Poems*. By William Stephen Sandes. London: Longman & Co.
7. *Poems*. By William Bell Scott. London: Smith, Elder & Co.
8. *Robespierre*. A Tragedy. By Henry Bliss. London: Kimpton.
9. *The Village Bridal, and other Poems*. By James Henry Powell. London: Whittaker & Co.
10. *Lyric Notes of the Russian War*. By Ruther. London: Bell.

THE ancients were quite right in proclaiming that a poet must be born, not made. To be sure, fitting culture and art-education, will make the best born poet better, since they supply the fine-tempered implements of workmanship to the hands of genius. Yet, without a certain given material, all the education in the world will never produce a poet. A due consideration of what is essential to constitute the poet, is suited to deter many versifiers from wasting precious time in an unprofitable pursuit. Let us for a moment glance at some of the requisite qualities. The poet must have large perceptive powers, for they are the windows

as it were, through which he looks, and in a great measure determine his range of vision. He must possess the faculty which we call imagination, and which is very compound in its constitution, and a very Proteus in its manifestations. At one time it is a worship of beauty, at another, it is a suffering or rejoicing sympathy. Now it will see a deeper meaning in the heart of common things, and again it will light up the dull face of things with magical beauty. He must possess logical and analytical power, for the poet is the greatest logician, and leaps to his results by no mere guess. He must be the greatest master of common sense, for a poet was never yet an inspired fool. He must possess intense passions, for these, properly reined and guided, draw the car of genius up the immortal mount. His eye must be tremblingly alive to beauty, his ear hungering for melody; indeed, he must have that vehement passion for melody that buoys his speech into song, his footsteps into tune, and makes his life move in a melodious rhythm. But, above all, he must possess a warm, kindling, electrical temperament. This attribute of the poet we should set above all others. Large heart and brain, clear sight, and general breadth of nature, are indispensable. There never has been a poet but in the proportion that he has possessed these characteristics. Such have been the world's great singers. They were all thus gloriously endowed, who have had the magic to unlock the sources of human smiles and tears, and send the thrill of sympathy through the heart of universal humanity. In this sense Homer, Milton, Shakspeare, Dante, and Burns, are poets. They are creators, seers, prophets, and singers.

But we must not limit the range of the world of poetry to the empire of these few kings. There are others who possess poetical power in a smaller degree, and the poetical attributes in smaller proportions and varying combinations.

As one star differs from another star in glory, and as one flower differs from another in beauty, so may one poet differ from another in the extent of his poetical endowment. Nor do we quarrel with the daisy because it is not dashed with the fiery hues of the tulip, or scorn the linnet because it has not the note of the nightingale. There is space in the universe for all its constellations, there is room on the earth for all its flowers, and there is a place in our sympathies for small poets as well as for great ones. If we were not thus lenient, what should we have to say for our eighteen-hundred-and-fifty-four poets? But we are lenient. Nor are we so much alarmed as some persons at the extent to which 'poetry' is being perpetrated. Versifying is incident to youth as the measles to childhood, and as seldom is it

fatal. It generally works its own cure. We ourselves plead guilty to having been metre-mongers in our time, and of rushing into publication before our beard. A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind. If the reader has never rushed into rhyme, and is chuckling over his advantage, we bid him to pause while he recurs to his love-letters, and we warrant that he has little cause to congratulate himself on his particular strength of mind, even though he may have avoided our own peculiar weakness. We imagine that few persons can hold their banquet of ridicule at the expense of poor versifiers in perfect peace of mind. The ghost of some secret delinquency starts up in memory, and comes to trouble their content and spoil their feast.

Doubtless, it is melancholy to think how many possessors of average intellect are at this moment engaged in fringing wretched prose with indifferent rhyme. It looks like a mournful waste of precious time and dear paper. Still there's consolation in it, and by virtue of a recent invention, it is probable that paper is not irrecoverable even when printed on.

The first book on our list is inscribed with the name of Tennyson, and is therefore sure of a ready reading for the sake of the great Alfred, whom we love so, and who has rendered that name illustrious. Yet it may not be of any great advantage to the poetical aspirant that he should wear such name when we come to consider his poetic claims, for in proportion to the expectation excited may be our disappointment on reading the book ; and both feelings may be unjust to the poet. When we first saw poems in 'Fraser's Magazine' signed Frederick Tennyson, we thought that some young branch of the family tree had burst into the poetic flower, and on reading the volume, we felt that the poems might have been the earlier effusions of Alfred now first published, so great is the family likeness. There are the same forms more feebly handled, the same colours more faintly reproduced, and snatches of the old music only badly remembered. We thought Frederick had been gleaning in the rich harvest-field which Alfred had reaped, and that by and by in other years he would garner in the produce of his own. And it was with a feeling of sadness that we learned that this was the elder brother, and that the weakness of the poetic offspring was attributable to age, and not to immaturity.

That Frederick Tennyson has a strong sense of beauty no one can doubt after reading his verses, but he lacks the faculty of clear and adequate expression. All is hazy and undefined. There is a delicious dimness sometimes in painting which is pleasing to the eye, but the same soft limning in poetry will often fail ; its pictures are dissolving ones. And this is especially



the case with Mr. Tennyson's poetry. It fails from want of force. He cannot realize graphically. If not still more impalpable, it should be called poetry in a state of fluidity, and might have been written by a denizen of Jupiter. Or if one was accustomed to write in one's sleep, you might reasonably expect to find something of the same kind on your pillow in the morning as the result of dreaming. 'Harvest Home' and the 'Bridal' are the two best pieces in the book. We give a specimen of the former—

The harvest days are come again,  
The vales are surging with the grain;  
The merry work goes on amain;

The mighty youth and supple child  
Go forth; the yellow sheaves are piled,  
The toil is mirth—the mirth is wild;

Old head and sunny forehead peers  
O'er the warm sea, or disappears,  
Drowned amid the waving ears.

Draw the clear October out,  
Another and another bout,  
Then back to labour with a shout.

The banded sheaves stand orderly  
Against the purple autumn sky,  
Like armies of Prosperity.

Laughter flies from door to door,  
To see fat Plenty, with his store,  
Led a captive by the poor;

Fettered in a golden chain,  
Rolling in a burly wain,  
Over valley, mount, and plain;

With a great sheaf for a crown,  
Onward he reels, a happy clown,  
Right through the middle of the town.—p. 248.

We must make room for four very beautiful stanzas, selected from the 'Song of an Old Man'—

But take me back where lie inurn'd  
The ashes of imperial joys,  
Discrowned hopes with quenched eyes,  
Great passions with their torches burn'd.

Some spirit out of darkness brings,  
And sets upon their ancient thrones  
The scatter'd monumental bones  
Of thoughts that were as mighty kings.

Some voice thrills in mine ear like breath  
 Of virgin song, and fair young Love  
 Is seen his golden plumes to move  
 Over the dim gray land of death.  
 My heart is like a temple dim,  
 Down whose long aisle the moonlight floats.  
 And sad celestial organ notes  
 Hover like wings of cherubim.—p. 9.

There is a touching and solemn beauty in these lines; and had the author always written as well, he would have made a name to himself as poet. As it is, we think that out of the Tennyson family, most of whom are poetic, only one has the slightest chance of going far down to posterity. Minds of the moonlight order will insist on it that Frederick is a poet. So be it; we will not quarrel; only he is not one of ours.

William Allingham is a singer of pleasant songs; albeit on his first appearance he raised hopes which he has disappointed. He has for some time been recognised as one of the truest among our rising young poets by sundry intelligent critics. This little volume of 'Day and Night Songs' does not contain much in the way of fulfilment, as the fruit of three years' silence. Nevertheless, his song is genial and welcome. He has little passion, small poetic force, and no sublimity. But there is a tender grace and a dreamy sweetness about some of his lyrics, which give them a soft and mystical charm. They might have been written by a delicate maiden, and murmured in her dream of coming love. 'Venus of the Needle,' 'The Fairies,' 'The Witch-Bride,' 'The Wayside Well,' and 'Lovely Mary Donnelly,' are among our first favourites; the last-mentioned is peculiarly characteristic in its genuine *naïveté* and affectionate blarney. We select the piece called 'A Dream,' which we have read at times, till so weird has been our feeling, that we could say with Job, 'the hair of our flesh was lifted.'

#### A DREAM.

I heard the dogs howl in the moonlight night,  
 And I went to the window to see the sight;  
 All the dead that ever I knew  
 Going one by one and two by two.  
 On they pass'd and on they pass'd;  
 Townsfellows all from first to last;  
 Born in the moonlight of the lane,  
 And quench'd in the heavy shadow again.  
 Schoolmates, marching as when we play'd  
 At soldiers once—but now more staid;  
*Those were the strangest sight to me*  
*Who were drown'd, I knew, in the awful sea.*

Stright and handsome folk ; bent and weak, too ;  
 And some that I loved, and gasp'd to speak to ;  
 Some but a day in their churchyard bed ;  
*And some that I had not known were dead.*

A long, long crowd—where each seem'd lonely.  
 And yet of them all there was one, one only,  
 That raised a head, or look'd my way,  
 And she seem'd to linger, but might not stay.

How long since I saw that fair pale face !  
 Ah, mother dear, might I only place  
 My head on thy breast, a moment to rest,  
 While thy hand on my tearful cheek were prest !

On, on, a moving bridge they made  
 Across the moon-stream from shade to shade :  
 Young and old, women and men ;  
 Many long-forgot, but remember'd then.

And first there came a bitter laughter ;  
 And a sound of tears a moment after ;  
 And then a music so lofty and gay,  
 That every morning, day by day,  
 I strive to recal it if I may.

We live in an age of parody and punning. Burlesque is one of the great characteristics of our time. It is fashionable to be a punster and a parodist, just as in the time of the Encyclopædists it was the fashion to sneer, or as, after Byron, we had the misanthropic phase, and it was the *mode* to be miserable. All around us burlesque dangles its wretched effigies. The noblest creations of Shakspeare are metamorphosed into things of scorn, just to pander to the lowest taste and excite a laugh. The old noblenesses, and grand types of Strength, and Beauty, and Poetry, of Greece and Rome, are transformed into gents and swells, slow and fast men. Such being the prevailing epidemic, it is not astonishing that a fresh outburst of poetry, characterized by the wild luxuriance and lush-extravagance of youth, should burlesque 'beautifully.' It has done so, and proven a tolerably successful farce in 'Fermilian.' Read it once, and you feel it to be clever ; read it again, and the after-thoughts are saddening, like those of the reveller's next morning. You are annoyed at gratifying your sense of wit for a moment with so poor a jest. Beside, there is little wit in either swearing or stealing.

How the very signification of the word 'wit' has dwindled to us. How different a thing it was to those glorious fellows who met at the 'Mermaid.' With them a wit was a man of brilliant parts. With us he is a parodist or punster. With them wit meant quick and subtile understanding, sudden luminous bursts



of happy thought, *naïve* touches of characterization, inverted pathos; with us it means 'Macbeth, a burlesque,' a 'Comic History of Rome,' and 'Fermilian.' This is very mournful to one who has any faith, and solemn earnestness, and worship of beauty. 'Fermilian' may be useful in checking certain extravagancies of some recent writers, but we think it will prove far more effective in crushing further attempts of its own kind. In such wise we accept it; even as the Spartans made a slave drunk, that the exhibition of his idiocy might disgust their children. It could not have been a more melancholy warning even if it had been done by a cynical enemy of the burlesque mania. In trying to make others ridiculous Mr. T. Percy Jones has made an ass of himself.

We do not think that Professor Aytoun in the least understands his own position in relation to the young poets and such writers of our time as Ruskin and Carlyle. As a critic, he is somewhat like Gifford in relation to Keats. He has the same plentiful lack of sympathy and want of comprehension, but he substitutes a playful mood for the old critic's savagery. The old style of criticism might excite sympathy for the victim, the new one may elicit laughter at his expense. But he will be just as unsuccessful. He may as well try to stop the next year's flowers from blowing as to put down the writers whom he unfairly classes together and calls the 'spasmodic school.' His endeavours to keep back the tide of opinion from washing out his Edinburgh landmark is just as futile as were the efforts of worthy Mrs. Partington to keep out the rushing tide of the Atlantic from her back-door with a mop. Doubtless this young poetry has many faults; but, for the love of beauty, don't destroy its blossoming flowers, and do wait till they come to fruit before you cut down the tree. Don't knock off its luxuriant leaves and rainbows of bloom because it wears richer colours than your own sapless branches. Yours may have borne fruit in the past, and these will in the future.

The consideration of these characteristics of the literature of our time, and this tendency to make sport, to caricature, and to appear ironical, naturally leads us to remark on another characteristic of the time and its poetry—the absence of lofty religious earnestness. The lips of our bards are seldom touched with live coals from the holy altar. They have little of that faculty which gives such height, depth, and solidity to the human mind, and makes the Anglo-Saxon race the noblest and greatest that ever lived on this earth. For only a highly venerative and sternly earnest people could ever have brought forth a Shakspeare, a Milton, or a Bunyan.

The French nation has produced no such men or poetry as we

have, and never can while it is so flippant and sparkingly shallow. The age we live in is not deeply religious, and its poetry is the natural outcome of its self-consciousness, its speculative tendencies, its uncertainties, its doubts, and halting utterance. The greatest works ever accomplished have been inspired by religious faith, and wrought out in religious earnestness. Our poets are apt to lie and watch the lazy or troubled stream of their life with introverted eye, brood over their own pulse, and eat their own heart. Self-consciousness is their bane. They are self-conscious in the presence of their muse. Now if a man be self-conscious in the presence of his mistress, he is a coxcomb. If he be self-conscious in the presence of danger, he is inevitably a coward. Inspiration only begins where self-consciousness ceases. They did not work in such a self-conscious, self-contemplative mood, who have compassed immortal achievements, and moulded the world to their will, and who in the old days lived their martyrdoms, performed their deathless deeds, and built up their great and enduring works. They seem to have gone about their work, or walked their way, sublimely unconscious of 'genius' and 'greatness' as 'noble boys at play.'

Ah, this consciousness—these pursuing, haunting thoughts about self, they are as fatal as the worms in the body of Herod! The great thing is to get out of self. We are never so great as when carried out of self. Hence the peerless value of the doctrine taught by Christ—the self-sacrifice and self-abnegation which he inculcated! Any external influence which takes us out of self for worthy ends is acceptable. But, above all—above love, patriotism, and affection—is the influence of religion, of worship, of adoration, in carrying us away from these petty cankering thoughts about self. Reverence is the crown of the human development—the loftiest and noblest phase. And only when it comes to complete and hallow the intellect shall we see the crowning race of human kind, of which we have had glorious glimpses in the lives of the illustrious few. At present it would seem that we are passing through the intellectual phase. We are merely intellectual, or unintellectually religious. The twain are not yet wedded. The religious mind cares little or nothing for poetry, and art and the poetic mind is not religious. Of course there are individual exceptions; we merely indicate general characteristics. As a natural consequence, there is a great dearth of religious poetry, and we gladly welcome any singer who comes to us poetically and religiously endowed. Mr. Burns is essentially a religious poet—not one who merely sets texts of Scripture in rhyme and versifies the Bible. His book of Poems ought to be hailed as manna to the religious world, so barren as it is in genuine poetry. There is a most ethereal

spirit and a delicate loveliness in most of these pieces, and they are melodiously evolved. We are inclined to think very highly of the author of these poems, and we trust that he may be in his poetic youth. His are very thoughtful, very reverent, very beautiful strains; and we can very well forego the daring imagination for such words of wisdom, touching grace, and sweet songfulness.

An emphatic recommendation of the book must stand in place of any lengthy quotations. As a specimen of his masterly manner; clear, calm thoughtfulness; and fine finish; we extract a sonnet:—

THE PICTURE OF A MARTYRDOM.

Meek, suffering saint! in holy peacefulness  
 Thou standest, budding to thy virgin prime,  
 Fair as a lily of thy southern clime  
 Erect against the rain. Thy LORD doth bless  
 And help thee in this hour: the sharp distress  
 Even unto death which tries thee, doth sublime  
 Thy maiden modesty before the time  
 Into a graver air of saintliness.  
 With a sweet smile, thou liftest thy pure eyes  
 Heavenward, the while those glowing pincers tear  
 Thy dove-like bosom. In thy golden hair  
 The licitor's hand is twisted. With surprise  
 Thy brutal judge looks on. But in the air  
 Thou seest the angel waiting with the prize.—p. 204.

America contains the elements of great poetry, but we cannot say she is rich in written poetry of the loftiest kind. To be sure she has her Longfellow and Lowell, Bryant and Whittier, Poe and Reade, and many others who are crowding about the Temple-gate, but she cannot be said to have done great things in that way as yet. Perhaps it takes many years before the poetic tree strikes sufficient root in a new soil to enable it to bear the finest fruitage. All enduring things are necessarily of slow growth. However, she is learning to know that Poetry, like Charity, begins at home; that she need not come to the Old World to see what man can do and suffer. God is around them, the face of Nature is as full of meaning for them, and let them unroof the human heart, and they shall find the heroism, the chivalry, the self-sacrifice, and the might, that make up the glory of humanity. A new world of poetry exists in America, just as she existed unconsciously before discovered by Columbus; only let the discoverers arise. One of her most recent and best contributions of verse, is a book called 'Passion Flowers,' said to be written by a lady, but published anonymously. We have to object that the writer has not oftener looked homeward for subjects. The



volume contains many fine thoughts and noble lines, and we are occasionally reminded of Mrs. Browning's manner. The following from a piece entitled 'Rome,' is a fair specimen :—

I saw l'Ariceia, where the artist's soul  
Revels in light and colour magical.

\*                      \*                      \*

And often, when I've seen the twilight drape  
Her folds of sadness o'er the wide domain  
Of the Campagna, desolate with tombs,  
(Itself a monumental wilderness,)  
I've pondered thus: 'Perhaps at midnight here  
Wakes the quiescent city of our day,  
A Juliet, drunken with her draught of woe,  
And wildly calls on Love's deliverance  
Writhing in her untimely cerements,  
And stiffens back to silence when she hears:  
'Love has no help save that which waits on Death.'  
Oh no! more piteous still, a mazed child,  
Bereft in parentage and destiny,  
She wanders, stopping at these stones, to trace  
Through wreck and rust of ages, signs that prove  
Her filiation to the mighty sires  
Whose grim ghosts scare her slumbers, pointing hither.  
She feels the kingly impulse of her race,  
(For next to soul is sense of generous blood,)  
But, too unskilled to construe of herself,  
Can only crouch when strangers call her, *Changeling*,  
And on the weak, unwilling hand enforce  
Their gift of shame—a bondsmaid's heritage.'—pp. 22, 23.

'Poems,' by W. S. Sands, constitute a book well printed on fine paper, and filled with three hundred and eighteen pages of very smooth, gentlemanly verse. If the essence of it had been concentrated in a hundred pages, we might have called it poetry. As it is, all individuality is diluted into most vague generalities. Poetry must be exquisite or it is nothing. Poetry is the richest overflow of the finest natures—the best life of their rarest moments—and not the mere casting on paper of all that comes uppermost at all times. Even Wordsworth twaddles when he comes to do that. Mr. Sands' 'Poems' seem like sleight of hand, rather than the result of brain-sweat and beating and burning of heart. Last century he would have made a reputation as a clever versifier, in this, he will find it difficult to get listeners. He has the merit of saying what he has to say without mysticism, only he has so little to say, and nothing that it was imperatively necessary to sing.

'Poems by a Painter,' that is, William Bell Scott, indicate a deeper mine of thought, and perhaps a richer poetic spring than either of the other volumes in our list, and yet they are very

unsatisfactory. Their abruptness and transitionary movement are very tantalizing. In these respects they are not unlike the poems of Emerson. There are fine outlines not filled in; lofty altitudes of thought suddenly lost; snatches of music not sustained. They do not appear to be the outburst of an essentially musical mind. In fact, they *are* the poems of a painter rather than of a poet; and it is given to but very few to be Michael Angelos. The Muse is a jealous mistress, and tolerates no divided allegiance. They are often markedly original, but the originality sometimes grows into a self-assertive wilfulness, and sometimes dwindles into affectation. Mr. Scott's 'Poems' are well worth buying and reading. They have excited in us a strong interest, and we shall be glad to hear further of him when he has beaten out his music.

We have nothing to say to 'Robespierre, a Tragedy,' by Mr. Bliss, who advertises himself as 'one of her Majesty's counsel,' save that should the author ever be driven to perpetrate a murder more fatal than this of the queen's English, and one that is punishable by the laws of the land, he will have the melancholy satisfaction of being able to point to this book as printed evidence of his insanity. We trust it may be but temporary derangement, for the reputation of the profession to which he belongs. Mr. Bliss ought to appreciate our forbearance in abstaining from quotation. If 'Robespierre, a Tragedy,' be intended for a satire, we trust the author will forgive us for not seeing the joke. If, as we think, it has been committed in serious earnest, then 'Where ignorance is bliss'—'tis folly for us to say any more about it.

We hope that James Henry Powell has found in rhyming its own reward, for we are afraid that he will get little other recompense. It is a pleasant exercise, and one that cannot fail to assist in culturing the mind, only let not the rhymers form too lofty expectations of results, or too flattering an opinion of his powers. If his leisure time cannot be more advantageously employed, let him go on rhyming. James Henry Powell has a certain sense of the common metre kind of music, and strong imitation—these set him singing. But these gifts alone will never entitle a man to set up as poet. Few are poets, many are poetry-bitten.

'Lyric Notes of the Russian War,' by Ruther, are cast mainly in the measure of 'In Memoriam.' The imitation of Tennyson's verse is servile and unsuccessful. The poem is a kind of chronicle of what has been done in the Crimea; but any one of our newspaper correspondents has told the tale a hundred times more eloquently. Ruther does not play on a Spartan fife, or blow the exulting battle-trumpet;—he reminds us of a child 'tooting' his penny whistle in the rear of a victorious army.

ART. IV. — *Report of the Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.* Liverpool. 1854. 'Athenæum,' Nos. 1404—1407.

THE scientific history of the past year has not been distinguished by any great discovery. We cannot record the detection of a force before unknown, nor the effects of known agencies in new conditions. For many years light has been so steadily advancing upon the dark places of science, and has penetrated so many recesses of ignorance, that it has become almost a habit with those who watch the progress of scientific knowledge to anticipate novelties, and to imagine that nothing has been done if some startling discovery has not been announced. But uninterrupted conquest is not always the best evidence of progress. Great discoveries produce great excitement, and that is a state of mind unfavourable to the acquisition of those results in which society is most interested. Intervals of repose are necessary to correct errors, to arrange, or, it may be, to tabulate truths, and to view the extent and defects of our knowledge. These are the subjects with which science has been principally engaged during the past year; and if the results are less wonderful than many of those recently obtained by experimental research, they are certainly no less interesting and important.

It is essential to the success of every scientific investigation that the instruments of observation should be perfect in their kind, or else we may register instrumental errors as scientific facts, and construct theories to account for differences which do not exist. One of the first things to be done, therefore, when science resolves to review her position, and estimate the value of her possessions, is to question the agents by which her assumed conquests have been made, and to ascertain whether those instruments have correctly reported the effects they were intended to discover and register.

There are certain departments of science, such as meteorology and navigation, in which all men are interested, and in which most men have been occasional observers. The barometer and thermometer, the chronometer and compass, are household instruments, and the persons who have not used them to obtain permanent records for science, have employed them to gain knowledge for themselves. For the last fifty years the changes they have exhibited have been watched and registered in every part of the habitable globe; and the question is often asked why we are still adding to catalogues which no one thoroughly investigates, and from which only doubtful results have been



obtained. We cannot prophesy from the appearances of to-day what the weather will be to-morrow much better than our grand-sires ; and although we have greatly increased the number of ships upon the ocean, we have not diminished the proportion of losses. The men of this generation go faster than the men of the last ; but, in matters of practical science, they move with so small an increase of safety that prudence suggests the necessity of inquiring, why, with so much more knowledge, there is not a proportionate amount of wisdom. The first step in this investigation is to test the accuracy of the instruments of observation—to know whether we can depend upon the assistants we employ, and reason with safety upon the information they give us. It would have been better to have made this inquiry before, but it is not too late now, for if by the discovery of error we are compelled to reject as useless much that we had before thought valuable, future errors will be avoided, if truth is not immediately gained.

It was probably with some such opinions as these that the British Association recommended the Kew Committee to examine the construction and test the accuracy of all the varieties of thermometer and barometer in common use. The utter worthlessness of a large proportion of these instruments was immediately discovered, for it was seldom that any two gave precisely the same reading under the same circumstances. This result, not altogether unexpected, proved the necessity of rejecting a large number of registered observations ; but at the same time, it suggested the importance of providing for scientific, if not for popular use, instruments of better character. The difficulty, so far as the thermometer was concerned, was soon overcome, for the value of its registrations entirely depends upon careful construction. But in the manufacture of a barometer attention must be paid to the circumstances under which the instrument is to be used. One that is suitable for observations on land will not necessarily give correct results at sea. A certain pumping of the mercury is produced by the motion of a ship, and to correct this there must be a contraction of the tube. To ascertain the degree of contraction requisite to destroy this oscillation of the mercurial column, experiments have been made under the direction of the Kew Committee, and many important facts in reference to the use and construction of the instrument have been discovered. Some years have been spent in these investigations, but the time has not been lost, for trustworthy barometers are now to be obtained at so low a price that accuracy may be secured for less money than error. But although this is literally the truth, one instrument cannot be adapted to two conditions ; so that for the perfect registration of atmospheric

pressure at sea, two barometers are necessary, one for calm and another for stormy weather. Whether our merchant sailors will accept the assistance liberally offered to them may be doubtful, but should these perfect instruments be introduced, either by choice or compulsion, the sailor will derive a future as well as a present advantage from the investigation; and the log book, which is now, in too many instances, a worthless document when the voyage is ended, will become a valuable book to the man of science, from which new facts may be gathered for the benefit and security of future navigators. That these labours would be appreciated by the governments of great commercial nations was to be expected; and prudence suggested the necessity of immediately introducing the improved instruments into their navies. In this instance there has been no delay on the part of naval authorities. The Kew Committee have, at the present time, for verification, a large number of thermometers and barometers, constructed under its superintendence, for our own Board of Trade and the navy of the United States.

The commercial interests common to England and America necessarily produce a community of motive in scientific research, and a participation in the benefits resulting from it. This is especially the case in all that concerns the navigation of the ocean. England performs an imperative duty, as well as an act of friendship, in testing the marine barometers and thermometers of America. For this we can take no credit to ourselves, as it is only an acknowledgment to the United States that we have been benefited by her example and labour. It may not be known to some of our readers that the American government has been for some years actively and systematically collecting and arranging information from all credible sources relating to the winds, tides, currents, and temperature of the ocean. The direction of this inquiry was entrusted to Lieut. Maury, who suggested it. By the ready assistance he received from the mercantile marine of his own country, he has been able to supply the sailors of all nations with a variety of charts and printed records which have done much to give security to the navigation of the seas they describe. While receiving this lesson in practical science from a nation whose energy in enterprise and patience in research, we, of all other people, have most reason to applaud, it is well that the debt should not be forgotten. There never will be a time, we hope, when England will refuse, either from indolence or pride, to assist in any effort which may be made to save life, protect property, or to advance the intellectual and religious freedom of man. The blessings we enjoy and the holy mission we have received from the Most High, demand an acknowledgment in labour which shall have

a higher motive than personal interests or national jealousy. While, therefore, we present to America the barometers and thermometers which have been verified for her navy, we acknowledge our obligations to that well-devised and successfully-pursued scheme which has roused the government of England to an acknowledgment of the necessity of doing something for the improvement of navigation and the safety of commerce. Prompted by men of science who have felt the disgrace of receiving the benefit without participating in the labour of research and experiment, the British government has established a scientific department in connexion with the Board of Trade, the business of which will be similar to that over which Lieut. Maury presides in America. Captain Fitzroy, who is, according to the Earl of Harrowby, 'the one man best fitted to carry out with energy and success' the objects of this department, has been placed at its head. The high praise he has received from his friends will, no doubt, strengthen his determination to perform the duties he has accepted, and thus to satisfy the hopes and deserve the praise of those who welcome him to office. But while it is easy to pardon the injudicious zeal of friends, we must blame every attempt to get credit for what is to be done by finding fault with that which has been done. If it be true that 'the documents hitherto published by Lieut. Maury present too much detail to the seaman's eye,—that they have not been adequately condensed, and therefore are not practically so useful as is supposed,'—if all this be literally true, Captain Fitzroy should not have said it until he had something more than promises to give in return for the documents and suggestions he has received. When, by the collection of data, he is able to prepare 'a number of conveniently-arranged tabular books,' from which, 'at a subsequent period, diagrams, charts, and meteorological dictionaries or records shall be compiled, so that by turning to the latitude and longitude all information about the locality may be obtained at once and distinctly,'—then the public will fairly estimate the value of the labours of Captain Fitzroy, and award him the honour he deserves. That he would, under any circumstances, prove himself an efficient and useful officer there is no doubt; but he has created for himself new motives for exertion in the pledges he has given, for his countrymen will demand their redemption.

But we should not deal fairly with Captain Fitzroy if we left our readers to imagine from one injudicious expression that he altogether undervalues the labours of Lieut. Maury, in comparing them with his intended future performances. In another place he has dealt more generously with his own reputation and the honours of his predecessor.



The success of the experiments to be now made by British and American navigators under the direction of scientific governmental departments respecting the weight and temperature of the sea and atmosphere, depends chiefly upon the accuracy of the instruments of observation—upon the possession of barometers and thermometers which tell the truth everywhere. The storm makes its coming known on the mercury of the barometer before it bursts on the ship, bowing its proud streamers to the crests of the mountain waves. The floating ice-island sends a chilly stream as the herald of its coming, and the thermometer does not interrogate it in vain, when it returns with its message to the hand of an intelligent mariner. The sailor can no more plough the highways of the ocean without the barometer and thermometer than a surveyor can register the lines of an intended railroad without chain and level. But something more is wanted for safe travelling upon the ocean highways. The sailor must have guides to lead him to them, and to prevent him from straying. For this purpose, the chronometer and the compass are required; and we must now see what science says about their qualifications, and by what means it hopes to make them more fit for the duties they have to perform.

When the British Association met at Liverpool, in 1837, the committee presented a memorial to the town council of the borough recommending the establishment of a nautical observatory; and among the duties which, in their opinion, should be undertaken by such an institution, that of receiving and rating chronometers was particularly mentioned. The recommendation of the scientific authorities was favourably received by the town council, and an observatory was soon after established. The management of this excellent institution was entrusted to Mr. Hartnup, of whose labours we can say no less than that they have done honour to the united scientific and commercial spirit which they represent. At the last meeting of the Association, held in the same town, Mr. Hartnup reminded the members of the part they had taken in the establishment of the observatory, and presented them a report of what he had been able to accomplish. By the objects of the establishment, and the recommendation of the Association, his attention had been drawn to the study of chronometers, and to the correction of those errors in rate which arise from a change of temperature. The importance of this subject and the results of his labour we will endeavour to explain.

A chronometer is used at sea to find the longitude. When this indispensable instrument is given to the commander of a ship he is told its rate; that is to say, what it gains or loses daily, that he may make the necessary corrections. Now when it is

remembered that an error of seven seconds a-day will in eighteen days make one of more than two minutes, and that the loss or gain of two minutes may endanger a ship and all it contains, there is no need of argument to prove the necessity of knowing the sources of error, and of determining the amount. It sometimes happens that merchant-vessels have chronometers which are altogether untrustworthy; instruments so bad in construction or adjustment, that the crime of deception, in a matter affecting life as well as property, must be charged against the maker, and culpable ignorance or inattention against the buyer. With these defective and useless instruments the rater has nothing to do; they are excluded altogether from the range of his experiments. But taking the average quality of the chronometers received by merchant-vessels (and they are for the most part inferior to those accepted by the navy), it is important to determine what circumstances affect their rate, and what is the average of their loss or gain. Some errors arise from circumstances which are not understood; such as a change of place from sea to land, and from one hemisphere to another. All that we at present know is, that 'the average of the sea rates of chronometers employed in the American trade agrees with the rates of the same chronometers on shore in a temperature of about  $60^{\circ}$ , and that 'the average of the sea rates of chronometers which have been exposed to a tropical climate during a great part of the voyage agrees with the rates of the same chronometers on shore in a temperature of about  $80^{\circ}$ .'

But there is another still more important source of error which is understood, and which may be corrected—that resulting from a change of temperature. To this subject Mr. Hartnup has given his attention, and the results of ten years' experience are before us. The average change of rate in the chronometers employed by the merchant service, for a change of temperature from  $40^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$  Fahrenheit, is, he says, seven seconds a-day; and this, as already stated, may be a dangerous error.

'This variation of rate,' says Mr. Hartnup, 'differs so much in different time-keepers, that, without a trial, no idea can be formed of its amount in any particular chronometer. In order to show this more clearly, we have compiled from the records of the Observatory three tables: each table shows the change of rate for each of one hundred chronometers, caused by changing the temperature to the extent named in the respective headings. In Table 1 the average change in the daily rate, caused by changing the temperature from  $40^{\circ}$  to  $60^{\circ}$  is  $6.97''$ . Taking the two extremes, one chronometer in the hundred gained  $15.3''$ , and one lost  $72.2''$  a-day, by changing the temperature only  $20^{\circ}$ . The average change of rate of the first ten in the hundred is  $7.1''$  gaining; the average of the second ten is  $0.3''$  losing; and the average of the last ten in the hundred is  $29.8''$  losing. Tables 2

and 3 show the change of rate caused by changing the temperature from  $60^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$ , and from  $50^{\circ}$  to  $80^{\circ}$  respectively, and it will be seen that the variations were much greater in the low than in the high temperatures.'

It is scarcely possible to read this report without believing that we have found the reason why accidents at sea are so frequent. That they are frequent everybody acknowledges, but the statistics are comparatively unknown. A few figures connected with this subject will create a deeper interest in the efforts science is now making to improve the art and increase the profits of maritime navigation. From an analysis of the reports made to Lloyd's of the casualties to sailing vessels at sea during the four years ending 1850, we find that of the gross number (12,041) no less than 5117 were occasioned by vessels being driven on shore, 2665 by collision, and 2295 by wreck; while 204 sailed, and were lost, without leaving a hand to record the destruction. It is appalling to think that even, according to these figures, and they state only a part of the casualties, there is, on the average, an accident at sea once every three hours, by night and by day. The loss of life and property is not correctly known, and the estimated number and amount is so great, that we can scarcely believe the results of our calculations. But it would be of incalculable benefit if we could obtain the statistics of causes—how many arose from ignorance of the rate of the chronometer, how many from the deflection of the compass, and what number were injured or lost because they were not forewarned by the barometer or thermometer. That the want of correct instruments is a fruitful cause in the production of these accidents may be gathered from the fact that they have happened chiefly to vessels between 90 and 500 tons burthen, for only 64 of the whole number of accidents are attributed to vessels of 700 tons and upward. The smaller the vessel—speaking in general terms, and of a class—the more imperfect are the instruments of observation, and the less is the complement of men in proportion to the tonnage; while the general arrangements for comfort and security are below the average of the trade in which the vessel is engaged. There is, therefore, good reason to believe that a large proportion of accidents will fall upon this class of vessels, and that as much of the evil may be traced to defect of instrument as to want of knowledge; in fact, they go hand in hand, to the destruction of life and property. Skill and seamanship are prime qualities in the estimation of safety at sea; but a good seaman depending on bad instruments is like a gipsy guide on a burning heath, when his beacons are a part of a general conflagration.

Mr. Hartnup has done good service to our merchants and their seamen by ascertaining the amount of error to which chronometers



are subject by a change of temperature. If the makers were careful to introduce sufficient compensation, and the owners of ships were more anxious for correct than for cheap instruments, there would be no difficulty in obtaining proper chronometers for the mercantile marine. But the indifference of the merchant and ship-owner supports the apathy of the chronometer-maker, who will continue as long as possible to send his best instruments and improved compensations to Greenwich to be tested for the navy, and find a market for the inferior in the merchant service. To this the owners of small ships must submit till they have the energy and wisdom to establish or support, for their own purposes, an institution similar to that of Greenwich, to examine the qualities of the instruments they are requested to purchase. At the present time there is but one nautical observatory in the country, perhaps in the world. Ships enter every port except that of Liverpool, and the captains have no opportunity, if they desired it, of ascertaining the rates of their chronometers, or the correctness of those other instruments upon which the safety of their ships mainly depends. But let these facts be generally known, and if we have not overvalued the philanthropy as well as the commercial enterprise of our countrymen, observatories will be established in all the principal maritime towns, each having its time-ball and standard barometers and thermometers for the proof or correction of the instruments used in ships. In this matter, individual and national interests, and the obligations of humanity and religion, enforce the dictates of reason and the demands of science.

While all the resources of experimental science are engaged to improve the instruments upon which safe navigation depends, the engineer and ship-builder are projecting new ships of gigantic size and mighty power. When the 'Great Western' was launched it was an almost universal opinion that a larger steam vessel could not be safely carried over the ocean. But then came the 'Great Britain,' and she was condemned as a mad experiment by many an old sailor, who asked tauntingly where the owners would find a commander foolhardy enough to guide her over the Atlantic. But we have not yet, it appears, built a vessel large enough for the new colonial trade which has been opened within the last twenty years. Success sometimes makes men rash, and they only learn prudence when taught by some terrific accident. Are we now to be taught this lesson again by the experiments of the modern ship-builders? or is it true that we have not yet reached those dimensions in naval architecture which it would be unsafe to exceed? Such are the questions many persons are now asking; and so satisfactorily have they been answered, that in spite of the doubts of the timid, and the

forebodings of jealousy, we have confidence in the scientific knowledge and judgment of the professional men who not only admit the possibility of building good ships much larger than any now in existence, but are also making the trial.

Mr. Scott Russell, a gentleman well known in the annals of science, is now building, from the drawings of Mr. Brunel, a large iron ship for the Eastern Steam Navigation Company. This ship will be 675 feet long, 83 feet in breadth of beam, and 60 feet deep. It will carry 6000 tons of freight, 500 first-class passengers, 500 second-class, and 1000 third-class. The size of the vessel and the amount of freightage so largely exceed any dimensions and quantities ever before dreamed of, there can be no impropriety or impertinence in inquiring whether such a ship could be safely managed in a stormy sea? and whether there are any advantages in the use of such a vessel to warrant the experiment?

The safety of such a vessel must depend, so far as its mechanical construction is concerned, upon its strength. Upon this point we have the testimony of two men eminently entitled to give an opinion. Mr. Scott Russell, when complimenting Mr. Brunel for the engineering skill and ingenuity he had displayed in designing large ships for our mercantile marine, said that he was perfectly convinced that the forebodings some people had indulged would be found fallacious. Mr. Fairbairn, an equally competent judge, acknowledged that he once thought such a ship would be too large, and that the necessary strength could not be obtained. But he had arrived at an opposite opinion by the examination of Mr. Brunel's drawings. 'I have no doubt now,' he said, 'that the ship will be perfectly strong, and be able to bear a gale of wind without bending. It is built on the same principle as the Britannia Tubular Bridge; and as that mode of structure is able to sustain a bridge without any support in the middle, there can be no doubt that supported, as the ship will be, by the water, it will, under all circumstances, be able to bear the strains to which it may be subjected.' With these opinions we must be content, for higher authority cannot be obtained.

The benefits expected from the use of the proposed large ships, in preference to those now in use for ocean voyages are, increased speed and greater profit,—the latter greatly depending upon the former. It has been discovered, and is now well known, that speed is governed by the length and entrance of the vessel.

'A fine concave entrance,' says Mr. Russell, 'instead of a bluff round bow, is generally admitted to be the best; and in addition to the shape of the water-line, it has been found that the length of the body of a ship facilitates its passage through the water by allowing a longer time for the particles of the fluid to separate. A ship with a fine

concave bow, a long body, and a comparatively round stern, cleaves its passage through the water without raising a wave in front to obstruct its course. No steam ship that is not 180 feet long can be propelled at a speed of sixteen miles an hour without a great expenditure of power; and 400 feet is the shortest length for a ship that is intended to be propelled at so high a speed as twenty-four miles an hour. The 'Himalaya,' which is 365 feet long, has a greater speed for the power employed than any other merchant ship.

This settles the question how the greatest amount of speed is to be obtained from a given power; and as speed governs profit, the ship-owner has a great interest in facilitating the construction of vessels to secure that object.

The highest rates of freight, we are informed, do not pay the expense of small vessels employed on long voyages. The impossibility of carrying in such vessels as are now afloat a sufficient quantity of coal for a voyage to Australia (for example) compels the owners to establish coal depôts to supply the quantity which they require but cannot carry. This, of course, greatly enhances the value of the fuel; and the unnecessary length of time occupied in the voyage increases the quantity consumed. Now, as by increasing the length of the ocean-going steamers less time will be occupied in the voyage, and all the coal necessary may be carried, with greater space both for passengers and freight, a good profit may be expected by the owner instead of a loss, and the commerce of the country with distant parts of the world will be supported and probably increased.

It is estimated that the ship now building will make a voyage to Australia in thirty, or, at most, thirty-three days, and this statement might lead the reader to suppose, that if so much time is gained in this voyage, a ship of the same dimensions would be suitable for any foreign trade. But this is a deduction which cannot be proved. The dimensions of a ship should have a proportion to the trade in which she is to be employed and the length of the voyage she is to make. The object of the ship-builder should therefore be to supply the power required in the most convenient manner and at the cheapest rate. If this be made a subject of study, the number of the first or largest class steam vessels will always be few in comparison to the number of other vessels employed in the merchant service, however successful the present experiment may be. The 'Himalaya' is, perhaps, the best model yet produced for the ordinary traffic of the ocean, and it is not probable that shipbuilders will gain much advantage by constructing longer vessels, except when required for special purposes.

The introduction of iron as a material for ship-building is one of the most important of the many invasions this age has made



upon old customs. The large vessels which it is proposed to construct could not have been built without it; for timber of sufficient size is not to be obtained, and joints cannot be so made as to have the same strength as a solid piece. But iron can be manufactured of any size, irrespective of shape; and when it is more convenient to unite one piece with another by a joint, a greater strength may, in some instances, be obtained than if the two parts were absolutely united. But although the change of material has increased the strength, improved the shape, and greatly increased the speed of the mercantile marine, there is still one disadvantage attending its use. When it was first proposed to build an iron ship, many reasons were given for calling it a visionary scheme; but of all these there was but one that had the semblance of truth. It would be impossible, it was said, to navigate an iron ship if it were made, for when surrounded by such a mass of iron the compass would be useless. This was greatly overestimating the evil, as we now well know, for iron ships do take long voyages, and the compass is not altogether a useless thing, although it is subject to a deviation from local attractions, which it is most important to correct. 'There are risks at sea,' says the Council of the Astronomical Society, 'which no foresight can correct; but loss from defective compasses or ill-regulated chronometers should be treated as a crime, since common sense and common care will secure the efficacy of both these instruments. It is to be feared that life and property to a large amount are yearly sacrificed for the want of a little elementary knowledge and a small amount of precaution on the part of our seamen, who neglect the safeguards furnished by modern science.'

To this statement we give a ready assent, so far as the chronometer is concerned; but we should be sorry to treat as a criminal a commander who lost his vessel in consequence of a defective compass. It is notorious that compasses are liable to serious derangements in iron vessels, and that there is not at present any adequate means of correcting the error. The needle is always deflected from its position, more or less, in an iron ship; but supposing the displacement to be permanent, it might be corrected by placing it under the immediate counter-action of permanent magnets. This plan was adopted; but a long trial has proved it to be in no case more than partially successful, and, in some instances, absolutely dangerous. At the last meeting of the British Association this subject was discussed by Dr. Scoresby, and we should give an imperfect view of the practical character of the scientific investigations of the past year if we passed it without some notice.

The loss of the 'Tayleur' in the Irish Channel, and the mournful

death of many of her passengers and crew, will be fresh in the memory of our readers. She was a new iron ship, of nearly 2000 tons burthen, and sailed from Liverpool for America with 528 persons on board. On the second day after leaving port the captain came in sight of land at an hour when he supposed he was sailing in the usual course, in nearly midchannel. A heavy sea was running at the time, and the attempt to wear the ship round having failed the anchors were thrown out, but the cables snapped, and the vessel was driven broadside upon Lambay Island. 290 persons were drowned. An investigation of the cause of the wreck followed, and some facts relative to the ship's compasses were made known, for which the public were quite unprepared. One compass, it appeared, was fixed before the helm, and another near the mizen mast. Both of these had been, according to custom, carefully adjusted at Liverpool, and the captain himself had been diligent in verifying their action. Previous to the wreck, however, it was discovered that the compasses differed in direction by as much as three points. Under these circumstances it was necessary to elect by which of the two the vessel should be guided, and that at the helm was chosen. This was the proximate cause of the fatal catastrophe.

To investigate this matter more fully, the Board of Trade instituted inquiries into the cause of the difference between the direction of the two compasses. The Marine Board of Liverpool reported 'that the 'Tayleur' was brought into the dangerous position in which the wreck took place through the deviation of the compasses, the cause of which the Board cannot determine.' But, it is added, 'numerous instances have been brought under the consideration of the Board, of compasses having proved greatly in error on board both wooden and iron ships in navigating the Irish Channel, which deviation is not accounted for by any theory hitherto propounded.'

Now if it were only in the Irish Sea that the deviation of the compass could be observed, the scientific investigation which this catastrophe still demands should be conducted in that locality, as the danger to be apprehended would in that case be limited to one troubled channel. But the cause is in the ship, and it matters but little where she may be, for the effect is everywhere the same under the same circumstances. Dr. Scoresby, however, thought the subject to be sufficiently important for the consideration of the mathematical and physical section of the British Association at its last meeting, and in introducing it, very properly explained those facts which must guide the inquiry. These facts it may be desirable to review.

The magnet, as everybody knows, has a directive force received from some invisible and subtle agent, which causes it to turn its

ends or poles towards the north and south poles of the earth. This directive force (which, when possessed by steel, under ordinary circumstances, is permanent) is disturbed by the presence of iron, the amount of the deviation depending on the distance between the magnet and the iron, and its direction upon the position of the disturbing agent. A permanent magnet, and such the compass needle is, must therefore be acted upon in all directions by an iron ship, but with forces varying with the quantity and distance of the metal. Looking at this fact only, it was supposed that the final result of the local attraction could be counteracted by adjusting the needle, that is to say, by fixing permanent magnets near the compass, so as to bring the needle into its true magnetic position. Supposing the antagonistic force of local attraction and selected permanent magnets, to be in equilibrio, the needle would be at liberty to obey the impulsive force of the terrestrial magnetism. But it did not occur to those who took this narrow view of the difficulty, that the local attraction is not a fixed or permanent quantity. The deflection of the needle is not the same when the ship is lurching and pitching upon a heavy sea as when she lies moored in dock. But the disturbance might not have been very serious from this cause if it had been the only or even the principal source of derangement. The principal error is in considering the ship as though it were a mass of iron and nothing more. It would be difficult to find a piece of iron which had passed through the hands of the artisan without acquiring some degree of magnetic power. Percussion, contortion, or indeed any mechanical force, gives a directive force, more or less permanent, to iron; the arrangement of the poles being according to the position of the metal at the time. In the very act of constructing an iron ship, therefore, a magnetic force is communicated to it, and the direction of that force will depend upon her position in the stocks in relation to the magnetism of the earth. Hence it will appear that an iron ship when she is launched, is not merely a large ferruginous mass acting upon a permanent magnet under the ordinary conditions of mass and distance, but a floating magnet, or we should perhaps say a combination of magnets, having but little intensity, and holding the power with feeble tenacity. A few days may altogether change her magnetic condition. At one time we see her sleeping in dock, or rising and falling lazily upon the tide, swinging tardily with the ebb and flow. A few hours after she may be ploughing her way through a stormy sea, trembling under every stroke of the piston; and as she pitches and rolls each blow and twist disturbs and changes the magnetic direction she received from the shipwright's hammer.

If such be the magnetic condition of an iron ship—if it be as



we imagine, a reservoir of magnetic forces, there can be no adjustment of the compass; for there is no permanent condition to which the adjustment can be adapted. An arrangement of permanent magnets, which may at one time neutralize the local attraction, and give the needle its proper direction, may at another act as a disturbing force and be the cause of irreparable mischief. The merchant and the ship-owner will do wisely to follow the example of the Admiralty in this matter, and abandon the custom of adjusting ships' compasses; for it is better to trust to the probable detection of an error in the direction of a compass which is free to move, than to place faith in one which is held in the grasp of so many uncertain forces.

From these remarks it must not be supposed that the compass is of little value to the sailor. In spite of its liability to erroneous action it must still be the mariner's guide, and it is often his only one. But there are some precautionary measures which may be taken. They are pointed out by Dr. Scoresby in the following remarks:—

‘It is most important for safety in navigating iron vessels, that captains should be made aware of the liability of the compasses to change, and so to mislead them; that they should know the circumstances under which, in accordance with natural laws regulating and applying the earth's inductive action, changes are most likely to occur; that they should always be watchful of opportunities for determining the true magnetic direction with reference to their compasses, by observation of the sun and stars; and that by providing a place for a standard compass aloft, as far from the deviating influence of the body of the ship as possible, they might have guidance sufficient, with some allowances, for steering a correct magnetic course. With the precautions and means such as might be thus applied, the difficulties in respect of compass guidance in the navigation of iron ships might be mainly and practically overcome.’

But with all the caution that can be used the evil still exists, and many are asking what can science do to correct the error. The appeal now made for assistance is pressing,—the urgency is great. To prove this, we may quote from the address of Mr. Towson, the Secretary to the Local Marine Board of Liverpool:—

‘In the name of the merchants and shipowners of Liverpool, I implore the attention of the section to this important subject, in the hope and belief that if the members should respond to that appeal, they would be able before the next meeting to confer the benefit they seek, not on their own account alone, nor in consideration of the vast amount of property involved, but for the sake of the vast amount of human life which is continually being jeopardized and lost.’

Upon the methods now used in testing and correcting the

deviation of the needle Mr. Towson speaks with firmness and, from his official position, with authority.

‘Besides collateral means adopted for correcting the compass, there are two systems in use for that purpose: Captain Johnson’s system of swinging the ship and tabulating the results, which is exclusively employed in the royal navy; and the Astronomer Royal’s method of compensating the compasses by means of magnets, which is almost exclusively resorted to in the port of Liverpool. The objection to Captain Johnson’s plan is, that the corrections are liable to be employed the wrong way. After examining about 2000 masters of merchant vessels, I am convinced of the soundness of this objection. There is a general tendency in practice to come to a wrong conclusion on the subject. The mariner knows that westerly deviations indicate that the north end of the needle is drawn to the west, and comes to the conclusion, that if his compass has a westerly deviation it must cause an object bearing north to appear westerly, whereas it would really appear easterly; and I have known the same mistake made on board ships in the royal navy. The most formidable objection to the Astronomer Royal’s system is, that the magnetic poles of the compensating magnets are liable to change or to vary in their intensity. The change of retentive magnetism, deviation from heeling, and the change produced by going into the other hemisphere, are defects common to both systems. I have never met with a captain who could tell me the original deviation of his compass. In the case of the ‘*Tayleur*,’ the deviation of her steering compass was  $60^{\circ}$ ; of her compass before the mizen mast  $40^{\circ}$ . Was there ever such a case in the royal navy? Lieutenant Pasce, when appointed to the ‘*Jackal*,’ in 1845, was dissatisfied with a deviation of  $25^{\circ}$ , and obtained permission of the Admiralty to have the compass replaced, when it was reduced to  $18^{\circ}$ ; and no doubt the masters of merchant vessels would, on this point, be equally prudent if they knew the real amount of the original error.’

It is greatly to be desired that some process should be discovered for the correction of the errors to which the mariner’s compass is liable; and surely it is not indulging a flattering hope, considering the present state of experimental science, if we venture to anticipate that some correction will be found before another year has passed.

The brief review we have taken of the scientific labours of the past year will amply justify the assertion that they have been eminently practical. Science, when pursued in a Christian spirit, is always philanthropic in its objects and results. Its purposes are to protect man from the evils of ignorance, and to give him the security and benefits of knowledge; and in no way can it effect these objects more completely than by supplying him with, if we may so speak, perfect tools for the exercise of his energy and industry. But before we close this sketch of last year’s labour, it will be necessary to mention one or two other

subjects, less practical in their character, which have also received some attention from men of science, and are likely to be still further pursued during the present year.

The large increase in the number of private astronomical observatories is doing much to extend our knowledge of celestial objects and to accumulate data, the value of which will be fully recognised by future observers. Four more planets have been discovered, and the same number of comets. Of the four planets, three were first observed in Mr. Bishop's observatory,—two by Mr. Hind and one by Mr. Maith. The fourth was discovered by Mr. Luther, at the observatory of Bilk, near Dusseldorf. The four comets are new to us, if not to our system, for they cannot be identified with any that have been before observed. One was observed at Berlin, two at Gottingen, and the fourth was visible to the naked eye in many parts of Europe, and was, on one occasion, seen in daylight by Mr. Hartnup.

The progress of Stellar astronomy keeps pace with the onward march of discovery in the solar system. The erection of Bessel's noble telescope, and the results obtained with it by that lamented astronomer (of which the measure of the parallax of 61 Cygni was the most important), inaugurated a new era.

A large amount of the labour of the astronomers of the two last centuries, long comparatively useless, is now being reduced and catalogued. In some instances this has been already partially done, but much still remains to be done. The British Association volunteered to assist in the accomplishment of the task, and in 1845, published a catalogue of eight thousand three hundred and seventy-seven stars. This catalogue includes many stars of the seventh magnitude; but as these are often calculated from one observation, chiefly by Laland and Lacaille, they are not uniformly correct. In spite of this, however, although the astronomer does sometimes turn his telescope to the point indicated and does not find the star;—and although the place of a star employed as a point of reference for some moving body is not always correctly defined;—the catalogue is valuable, and the errors will be surely, though slowly, corrected. The detection of error is also an excitement to improvement, and the importance of making another attempt to supply the wants of the astronomer is already acknowledged:—

‘The British Association would add greatly to the benefits it has already conferred on astronomical science,’ says Professor Challis, ‘by promoting the publication, when sufficient materials can be collected, of a general catalogue of all stars to the ninth magnitude inclusive, which have been repeatedly observed with meridian instruments. The modern sources at present available for such a work are the reduced and published observations of the Greenwich, Pulkowa, Edinburgh,



Oxford, and Cambridge Observatories, and the recently completed catalogue of twelve thousand stars observed and reduced by the indefatigable astronomer of Hamburgh, Mr. Charles Rumker, together with numerous incidental determinations of the places of comparison stars in the 'Astronomische Nachrichten.' To complete the present account of the state of Stellar astronomy, mention should be made of two volumes recently published by Mr. Cooper, containing the approximate places arranged in order of right ascension of thirty thousand one hundred and eighty-six elliptic stars from the ninth to the twelfth magnitude, of which a very small number had been previously observed. The observations were made with the Makree equatorial, and have been printed at the expense of her Majesty's government.

We cannot mention the subject of astronomy without a particular reference to the application of electricity to the duties of the astronomical observatory. Telegraphs, signal balls, and sympathetic clocks, are now to be classed among the common things, and their operations are understood by all intelligent men who watch the progress of discovery and its influence upon society. But it may not be generally known that in no scientific pursuit or commercial enterprise is the voltaic battery more useful than in an astronomical observatory. There is something apparently fabulous, or it certainly would have been so designated a few years ago, in the statement that an electric clock in Greenwich Observatory 'maintains in sympathetic movement the large clock at the entrance gate, two other clocks in the Observatory, and a clock at the London-bridge Terminus of the South-eastern Railway:—it sends galvanic signals every day along all the principal railways diverging from London:—it drops the Greenwich ball, and the ball on the offices of the Electric Telegraph Company in the Strand, and the correctness of the last of these operations is tested by means of a galvanic signal needle upon the case of the Greenwich transit clock. All these effects are produced without sensible error of time.' A time-signal ball at Deal has also been connected with the electric arrangement at Greenwich, and thus the shipping in the Downs is provided with the means of obtaining correct time.

Public attention was sometimes since drawn to an ingenious method of determining the difference of longitude between distant places by voltaic signals, invented and used in America. By this method the Astronomer Royal has determined the difference of longitude between Greenwich and the Observatories of Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Brussels; and in the same manner Professor Encke has obtained the difference of longitude between Berlin and Frankfort-on-the-Maine. As soon as the necessary connexions and turntables had been made for a branch line of voltaic wires from Greenwich Observatory to London-bridge, and those preliminary operations which are necessary to give facility

of manipulation were completed, experiments were commenced to determine the difference of longitude between the Observatories of Greenwich and Cambridge. This was the first application of the method in England. In operations of this kind two persons are required at each station. One is the signal giver, who, while observing the transit of stars over the wires of the transit circle with his eye applied to the telescope, completes the voltaic circuit with his finger. The other is the signal observer, and his duty is to watch the motion of the needles and record the time; and at Greenwich this may be done with the greatest accuracy, for the galvanic needle is carried by the transit clock. The order of operation is described by the Astronomer Royal in the following passage:—

‘At 11 P.M. Greenwich mean solar time, Greenwich commenced by giving five signals at intervals of about 2" each. The turnplates were changed, and Cambridge responded by five similar signals. These were merely to say “all is right.” Then Greenwich gave batches of signals in numbers of from three to nine (some of them being transits of stars) to 11<sup>h</sup> 15<sup>m</sup>. Then Cambridge gave similar batches to 11<sup>h</sup> 30<sup>m</sup>. Then Greenwich gave signals to 11<sup>h</sup> 45<sup>m</sup>, and Cambridge to 12<sup>h</sup> 0<sup>m</sup>. This closed the night’s signals. From one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and fifty efficient signals were given, and as the observation of a signal is perhaps rather less accurate than the observation of a transit wire, the probable error of the mean of these will be fairly comparable with that of the determination of clock error in an evening’s transits.’

The long disputed question of the origin of the spots on the sun is again revived, and we may now hope to have it settled at no very distant period; or if this cannot be at once done, we shall at least ascertain if any, and what, connexion exists between their changed form and place and certain physical phenomena with which they are supposed to have some unknown relation. The Kew committee purpose to take a daily image of the sun by the aid of photography, and arrangements are being made for that purpose at the Meteorological Observatory under the advice of Sir John Herschel. Speaking generally of the arrangement, it may be said to consist of a telescope mounted equatorially with a clock motion in parallel; but Herschel himself will describe, in the following passage, the object proposed, and the means by which it is to be obtained—

‘The image to be impressed on the paper (or collodionized glass) should be formed not in the focus of the object lens, but in that of the eye lens drawn out somewhat beyond the proper situation for distinct vision, and always to the same invariable distance, to insure an equally magnified image on each day. By this arrangement a considerably magnified image of the sun, and also of any system of wires in the

focus of the object glass, may be thrown upon the focusing glass of a camera box, adjusted to the eye end of the telescope. By employing a system of spider lines parallel and perpendicular to the diurnal motion, and so disposed as to divide the field of view into squares, say of five minutes in the side, the central one crossing the sun's centre (or rather as liable to no uncertainty, one of them being a tangent to its lower or upper limb), the place of each spot on the surface is, ipso facto, mapped down in reference to the parallel and declination circle, and its distance from the border, and its size, measurable on a fixed scale. If large spots are to be photographed, specially with a view to the delineation of their forms and changes, a pretty large object glass will be required, and the whole affair will become a matter of much greater nicety; but for reading the daily history of the sun I should imagine a three-inch object glass would be ample. The representations should, if possible, be taken daily, and time carefully noted.'

It must not be supposed that this is a novel experiment. It has no claim to originality except as a continuous experiment. In 1842 Dr. Draper took a beautiful photographic impression of the solar spectrum in the south of Virginia, from which he deduced that negative rays exist on both ends of the spectrum, and do not depend on refrangibility. Whether he attempted at that time to take a portrait of the sun we are not certain, but believe that he did so. It matters however but little who may have been the first to succeed in the bold design of taking the sun's photographic likeness; it has now been done so often that by this time it must have been stereotyped, and many indications of the results to be anticipated from a consecutive course of observations have been already indicated. According to M. Wolf, the director of the observatory at Berne, the number of spots visible upon the disc of the sun return periodically, and the years in which the spots have been most numerous have been the driest and most fertile. In 1852 Professor Secchi, of Rome, took a daguerreotype view of the sun during an eclipse. This experiment seems to have been made, principally, for the purpose of testing the accuracy of M. Fizeau's statement that the chemical energy of solar light is more active in the rays which proceed from its centre than those which come from the edge of its disc. Having, as it would appear, confirmed this report, he extended his inquiries, and proved that the heat of the solar rays is twice as great at the centre as at the border of the sun's image, and that the maximum of heat is on the solar equator. If this be the fact, the equatorial regions of the sun are hotter than the polar, and we must not only reject the old theory of the sun being a globe of fire, but calculate what effect the newly discovered condition of the sun would have on the climatology of the earth, not forgetting the supposition, already confidently expressed, that the two solar hemispheres have different temperatures, and con-



sequently, that in estimating seasons, we must take into consideration which pole of the sun is turned to the earth.

The committee appointed by the British Association in 1852 to report on the physical character of the moon's surface, as compared with that of the earth, have a task which will probably occupy more time, if a thorough investigation be intended, than is expected. To collect and arrange the materials for the proposed report, if it is to be in any respect historical, will be a work of labour, but one of so much interest, that any man suited to the task must derive more pleasure from the investigation than from the anticipation of the credit to follow, although that will not be meagre if the execution be satisfactory. But in all probability this is no part of the design. The object is to obtain a series of photographic views of the moon, and to deduce from them, and from such observations as may be made, a theory of the physical constitution of that satellite. Dr. Robinson of Armagh made an attempt to take an image of the moon. For this purpose he took, as he supposed, a favourable opportunity, but failed; for after exposing a prepared surface for twenty minutes, no image was impressed. From this he deduced that lunar light has no chemical action upon the ioduret of silver; but this generalization has not been supported by succeeding experiments. Sharp edged and well developed pictures of the moon have been since obtained by many astronomers, and there can be no doubt that other still more perfect pictures will be procured. We cannot now, from the want of time and space, even state, not to say investigate, the results obtained by Professor Ponzi, a geologist well acquainted with the volcanic districts of Italy, but the opinions of this observer will be carefully considered by Professor Phillips, who has in many particulars deduced the same conclusions from independent observation.

We must say one word about the progress of geology; that universally popular science which gains admirers everywhere, and students and co-operators from all classes—some to satisfy their curiosity, some their wonder, but others (and they are the larger number) to satisfy their love of inductive reasoning. To describe, and estimate the labours of the geologists during twelve months, would occupy more pages than we are giving to all the reported doings of the British Association; but there are always subjects of peculiar periodical interest, and these were last year the classification of the Silurian formations and the distribution of gold. Upon the former we have a few words to say.

Sir Roderick Murchison is fairly entitled to great honour for his investigation of the, so-called, Silurian formations. The most enthusiastic of his admirers cannot, in this respect, award him a

larger meed of honour than we are willing to grant. He has 'made out,' or, in less technical phraseology, he has investigated, arranged, classified, and, if the term were admissible, he has fossil-hunted an immense deposit of Palæozoic rocks, which all the world had before disregarded,—literally passed by as worthless, not deserving investigation. As this honour is his own, out of the reach of envy though enviable, he must diminish his fame by appropriating that which belongs to another. When those inquiries commenced which have led to these satisfactory results, Sir Roderick, then Mr. Murchison, had a companion, friend, tutor,—What name shall we give him? any will be appropriate which recognises friendship without competition; for the existence of any such feeling between the two men would be absurd, and might verge into the ridiculous. But they appear to have been agreed upon the necessity of studying by observation the doubtful rocks lying between the well-known primitive and secondary formations. Sedgwick undertook what might then have been spoken of without much exaggeration as the impossible task, or, at least, the forlorn hope, of depicting the geological history of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and North Wales; while Murchison devoted himself to Hereford, Shropshire, and the neighbouring counties of South Wales. Fortune did not, in this instance, favour the braver; but both earned honours; and if the louder praise came to one, the most valued were offered to the other. But by some chance or the other, Sedgwick's diggings have gone to Murchison's profits, and the loser very properly complains that by some unfortunate circumstance he has been deprived of the reward of his labour. Now, Sedgwick happens to be a man possessing a profound knowledge of geology, bringing to every research in which he is engaged, a keen observation, a logical mind, and that broad perception of cause and effect which, in science, is genius. He is, too, a man of lively wit, and of earnestness of purpose, and he has an appropriate facility of expression which make him a most agreeable and esteemed companion, whether he comes in page or person. Such a man cannot imagine himself injured without securing listeners to his complaints, if he chose to make them. He believes himself to have been deprived, by his coadjutor, of the right which every discoverer possesses of naming and retaining, till sovereign authority has decided otherwise, the conquests he has made. An amicable misunderstanding has thereupon arisen between him and the author of the Silurian system, which involves the question of scientific accuracy and judicious classification, as well as the rights of scientific conquest.

To illustrate these remarks, we must state the facts:—Beneath the new red sandstone and above the metamorphic rocks there is a series of rocks appropriately named by Sedgwick, the Palæozoic.

This series is as distinctly marked as the Tertiary and Secondary systems. The propriety of the division and of the name has been acknowledged by geologists in all parts of the world, and the designation will probably remain when the conventional phraseology of the science, too much cherished, has been forgotten. This system of rocks was divided into groups, commonly known as the Permian, Carboniferous, Devonian, Silurian, and Cambrian. These divisions are supposed to be established by the necessity of order; but some adventurous Silurian chief attacked and annexed Cambria, invading it, as its chieftain says, without a declaration of war. But if, as Sedgwick seems to have proved, the upper Caradoc or May-hill sandstone possesses fossils belonging to the Silurian series, and the Caradoc is connected by all its characters with the Cambrian, the old land-marks must be restored, and the veteran conqueror must be re-established in the possession of that which he has so honourably won.

There are many other subjects, theoretical and practical, which we might be expected to mention, but both time and space are exhausted. Enough has been said to prove the value of the scientific labours of the past year, and the character of future research is indicated in the fact that the men of science in our day are devoted to that knowledge which ministers to the public good.

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ARR. V.—*The Annotated Edition of the English Poets.* By Robert Bell. 'Dryden.' 3 vols. London: John W. Parker & Son. 1854.

THE successive vicissitudes of rise, fashion, and decay, which pass upon the materials of language, have been gracefully compared by Horace to the analogous changes which annually take place in the foliage of trees; the poet ascribing to custom that dominion over words which Nature exercises over the vegetable creation. The image is as true as it is beautiful, except that it reverses chronology—inasmuch as we are the ancients, and look back to our far distant ancestors as the infants of the race. So the Romans saw in Ennius, and we in Chaucer and Spenser, not the blossoms of spring, but the decayed foliage of winter, while summer blossoms and autumnal fruits enrich the later eras of national literature.

There must necessarily be a period at which these seasons meet. That is not when summer mellows into autumn, but when winter is regenerated into spring; in other words, the best language of a nation only decays with the decease of national individuality, in which event it, like those who spoke and wrote it, puts on



the livery of the victor. Some writers, and those not unfrequently men of the rarest eminence, occupy the parenthesis of time that witnesses the transition. If their lot is happily cast in the spring tide of their nation, they wear the garb, not of subservience, but of triumph. The spoils with which they deck their antiquated costume inaugurate a more graceful fashion. They seem like corn-blades glinting through the snow, or remind us of those arresting phenomena we sometimes observe in trees, which produce their new buds before they have shed their dead leaves, and the green shoots brighten into vernal life swathed in the sere *exuviae* of the past winter.

Of this image Dryden is the literary exemplification. He cultivated, at least in his poetry, that border land which lay between the hyperboreal regions of the earlier literature of England ruled over by Chaucer and by Spenser, but more fertile under the sunshine of the Elizabethan epoch, and that richer domain in which modern poetry has flourished. One, indeed, of his contemporary sovereigns of song pushed his conquests further into the sunny zone ; but Milton's genius was supremely independent of circumstance. Seated on an inaccessible height, he enjoyed an almost noontide ray, while his contemporaries below were in twilight. His sovereignty of genius superseded all common laws. Like swift-winged birds of passage, he

‘Chased the seasons, and o’ertook the day,’

and it is almost as true of him, in his history as in his fancy, that—

‘He passed the flaming bounds of space and time.’

Milton, therefore, furnishes no exception against our general statement, that the age of Dryden was an age of literary transition ; for while some of his prose smacks racily of the elder English style, there are not a few passages in his poetry in which it would be a venial error to mistake him for Pope, or even for Johnson. In poetic conception and style he struggled to shuffle off the coil of those models of the French school amidst which his predecessors were entangled ; and, like Milton, informed his taste with Italian fiction and song, while he imported into his language that strong tincture of Latinity which has ever since more or less pervaded our literature, and which, when it had attained its highest colour, drew from Sir James Mackintosh a declaration, to be found in his ‘History of England,’ that our language was only beginning to recover from the almost irreparable mischief done to it by the writings of Dr. Johnson. This peculiarity of style, of which he evidently regards himself as the chief originator, he thus justifies in his account of his own poem ‘Annus Mirabilis,’ addressed to Sir Robert Howard—‘Upon

your first perusal of this poem you have taken notice of some words which I have innovated (if it be too bold for me to say refined) upon his Latin, which, as I offer not to introduce into English prose, so I hope they are neither improper, nor altogether inelegant in verse; and in this Horace will again defend me—

“ Et nova, fictaque nuper, habebunt verba fidem, si  
Græco fonte cadant, parçè detorta——”

The inference is exceeding plain, for if a Roman poet might have liberty to coin a word, supposing only that it was derived from the Greek, but put into a Latin termination, and that he used this liberty but seldom and with modesty, how much more justly may I challenge that privilege to do it, with the same prerequisites, from the best and most judicious of Latin writers? In a word, Dryden belonged to a period of social and literary twilight. Of those facts in his history which in the biographies of most distinguished men are fixed and definite, we have but an uncertain knowledge. It is chiefly his published writings which throw their rays through the nebulous atmosphere which invests his career. We peer through the mist to see if indeed he was the morning star of literature, and hail him with a dubious veneration as

————— Brightest in the train of night  
If, rather, he belonged not to the dawn.

Here again we join our voices to the common lamentation, which mourns the absence of that accurate biography which is, in fact, the condensation and the quintessence of all history. In the writings of such men as Dryden, we acquaint ourselves only with their ghosts—‘dim forms of uncircumscribed shade,’ and how fondly, yet how vainly, we desiderate the *men* as they lived, and talked, and behaved among their companions. So truly did the poet say, that the brave who flourished before the era of Homeric song perished in inglorious oblivion, for want of the celebrating bard, well called sacred, because he preserved in an inviolable sanctuary the memory of the mighty dead. If it were supposable that the steam engine and the electric telegraph should become the fables of a distant posterity, how gladly would our descendants exchange the mythic wonder of an empire traversed in a day, or a message from distant lands communicated in a second, for the working model of a locomotive, or a clear description of that miraculous machine which realizes the wildest prayer that ever diverted Olympus—

Ye gods, annihilate but time and space,  
And make two lovers happy!

John Dryden was born at the village of Oldwinkle, All Saints, Northamptonshire, on the 9th of August, 1631. His ancestors were dissenters, and from the absence of any registry of his baptism in this or any of the neighbouring village churches, it has been assumed that his parents were baptists. He received his early education at Tichmarsh, or at the neighbouring school at Oundle, and was afterwards admitted a king's scholar at Westminster School, under Dr. Busby.

In May, 1650, he was elected to a scholarship in Trinity College, Cambridge, took his bachelor's degree in January, 1653-4, and was made Master of Arts in 1657, by dispensation from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Of his college course nothing is known. If in early life he was imbued with nonconformist principles, they had little chance of surviving the joint influences of Westminster School and Cambridge University. For the former he always entertained a high veneration, while of the latter he ever held a very low opinion. His vigour of intellect was not torpedied by its routine, and he brought from it a rich accumulation of scholarship.

In 1657 he exchanged his college seclusion for London life. This he entered under the auspices of his kinsman, Sir Gilbert Pickering, a rigid puritan, who enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell, and to whom Dryden is generally supposed to have acted as secretary. In accordance not only with the influences of his position, but also with the traditional politics of his family, he attached himself to the faith and fortunes of the Commonwealth; and the first poem which brought him into public notice was his 'Heroic Stanzas' on the death of Oliver Cromwell, written two years afterwards. They indicate a very accurate knowledge of the Protector's great characteristics, and among thirty-seven stanzas, many of which are stiff and turgid, the three following are at once the most laudatory and poetical:—

6.

His grandeur he derived from heaven alone;  
For he was great, ere fortune made him so;  
And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,  
Made him but greater seem, not greater grow.

15.

His palms, though under weights they did not stand,  
Still thrived: no winter could his laurels fade.  
Heaven in his portrait showed a workman's hand,  
And drew it perfect, yet without a shade.

37.

His body in a peaceful urn shall rest,  
His name a great example stands, to show  
How strangely high endeavours may be blessed  
Where piety and valour jointly go.



Within two years from the publication of this poem we find his name attached to another, entitled 'Astræa Redux; a Poem on the Happy Restoration and Return of his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second, 1660.' The publication of this poem gives us the first glimpse of the unprincipled venality of Dryden's character. His nature was insusceptible of that enthusiasm especially natural to the young, which could glow in the contemplation of the greatness of those principles for which Cromwell fought. The stern simplicity of the victor, the reposing majesty and conscious greatness which could dispense with the externals of sovereignty, reigning without the purple, and swaying the destinies of the civilized world without the sceptre; the grandeur of a religion without ceremony; a policy untrammelled by diplomatic artifice; and an imperial power without the coarseness of despotism, and the constellation of the heroes of freedom whose names sparkle with undying lustre in that richest vein of time;—none of the emotions which all this was calculated to excite burned in the bosom of Dryden, nor could the dastard indignities practised on the disinterred person of his belauded Cromwell elicit a single expression of indignation or of scorn. 'There was nothing,' says the editor, 'to be hoped or feared from the descendants or adherents of the Protector.' This consideration may not have influenced the poet; but the reader can hardly avoid being affected by it when he finds that almost every topic which in the former poem was referred to as a subject of panegyric is here made a ground of reproach or lamentation. England is described as having been isolated from the policy of Europe; church and state as groaning for the return of the king, with fanaticism in the pulpit and faction on the throne. Even peace, which had been extolled as the great work of the 'Protector,' becomes a 'dreadful quiet' and 'horrid stillness;' and the treaty which followed speedily on the death of Cromwell between France and Spain is cited as evidence that Providence had abandoned the kingdom. His eulogy of Cromwell was evidently what he himself designates 'painted fire;' while his adulation of the second Charles is something at once more tame and less natural. One or two of his extravagancies will suffice to justify our censure:—

And welcome now, great monarch, to your own!  
Behold the approaching cliffs of Albion.  
It is no longer motion cheats your view;  
As you meet it, the land approaches you.  
The land returns, and, in the white it wears,  
The marks of penitence and sorrow bears;  
But you whose goodness your descent does show,  
Your heavenly parentage and earthly too,  
By that same mildness which your father's crown  
Before did ravish shall secure your own.

Not tied to rules of policy, you find  
 Revenge less sweet than a forgiving mind.  
 Thus, when the Almighty would to Moses give  
 A sight of all he could behold, and live,  
 A voice before his entry did proclaim  
 Long suffering, goodness, mercy, in his name.  
 Your power to justice doth submit your cause,  
 Your goodness only is above the laws,  
 Whose rigid letter, while pronounced by you,  
 Is softer made. So winds that tempests brew  
 When through Arabian groves they take their flight,  
 Made wanton with rich odours, lose their spite ;  
 And as those lees that trouble it refine  
 The agitated soul of generous wine,  
 So tears of joy for your returning spilt  
 Work out, and expiate our former guilt.—Vol. i. pp. 123, 124.

And again—

That star that at your birth shone out so bright,  
 It stained the duller sun's meridian light,  
 Did once again its potent fires renew,  
 Guiding our eyes to find and worship you.—Ib. p. 125.

One other line seems to sign and seal this abdication of all self-respect and manhood—

‘ For what the powerful takes not, he bestows.’

The line of Virgil,

‘ *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos,*’

will not bear reflection ; but this wholesale justification of the right of might might have been heard without surprise from Jeffries, but is painfully strange from the lips of Dryden. It is humiliating to imagine the author of the Eulogy on Cromwell sneaking by the wall about town, hugging his carcase and pouring out his abject blessings on the almighty grace of the king which suffered him to be in existence.

But this, it may be said, was in anticipation of a reign which might be illustrated by dignity and virtue, and blest with halycon days of peace and freedom.\* Not so ; after an interval of twenty-five years, over the annals of which humanity blushes

\* The same remarks apply to his panegyric on the coronation of his majesty in 1661, in which, among other follies, the following lines occur:—

Wrapt soft and warm, your name is sent on high,  
 As flames do on the wings of incense fly.  
 Music herself is lost; in vain she brings  
 Her choicest notes to praise the best of kings:  
 Her melting strains in you a tomb have found,  
 And lie like bees in their own sweetness drowned.—Vol. i. p. 131.

and sickens, we find him writing in the same strain the 'Threnodia Augustalis, a Funeral Pindarick Poem, Sacred to the Happy Memory of King Charles the Second,' in which his eulogies on the king are still more nauseous:—

Kind, good, and gracious, to the last,  
On all he loved before, his dying beams he cast;  
Oh, truly good, and truly great,  
For glorious as he rose, benignly so he set!—Vol. ii. p. 65.

Nor was Dryden's monstrous adulation of the king, and that with reference to the basest attributes of his nature, confined to his poetry, to which branch of literature a considerable amount of licence has always been conceded. In his preface to 'Absalom and Achitophel,' his eulogium upon the king is equally absurd and profane. 'God is infinitely merciful, and his vicegerent is only not so because he is not infinite.' To apologize for this prostitution of genius and literary position would be vicious, even were it possible; but to account for it is not so difficult a matter. He had meanwhile been made the poet laureate to Charles the Second; and such laurels might well drip an oblivion of virtue and honour over a higher nature and a purer heart than that of John Dryden.

As the work before us excludes the plays of Dryden, we shall no further notice him as a dramatic writer than to exhibit his views on the use of rhyme in this department of poetical literature. Its editor observes that he was the first writer who advocated and attempted to vindicate, upon critical grounds, the employment of rhyme in plays. Dryden then maintained that 'rhyme has all the advantages of prose, besides its own,' and that in repartee the sudden smartness of the answer and the sweetness of the rhyme set off the beauty of each other. His views on this subject are thus succinctly given by Mr. Bell:—

'The principal benefit he proposes as resulting from the use of rhyme is, that it prescribes bounds to the fancy, and by compelling the sense within certain limitations, prevents the poet from being carried away into that luxuriance and superfluity to which he is liable, from the great easiness of blank verse. The manner in which Dryden expresses this doctrine is as remarkable as the doctrine itself: "The great easiness of blank verse renders the poet too luxuriant; he is tempted to say many things which might better be omitted, or at least shut up in fewer words; but when the difficulty of artful rhyming is interposed, when the poet commonly confines his sense to his couplet, and must contrive that sense into such words that the rhyme shall naturally follow them, not they the rhyme, the fancy then gives leisure to the judgment to come in, which seeing so heavy a tax imposed, is ready to cut off all unnecessary expenses."—Vol. i. p. 32.

All these opinions, however, he subsequently retracted as boldly



as he had laid them down. They had been first expanded and illustrated in his dedication of the play of the 'Rival Ladies' to the Earl of Orrery, and subsequently more fully in his 'Essay on Criticism;' but in 1680, in his Lines to the Earl of Roscommon, he thus denounces the practice—

Barbarous nations, and more barbarous times,  
Debase the majesty of verse to rhymes;  
Those rude at first, a kind of hobbling prose.  
That limped along, and tinkled at the close.

We are the less concerned at omitting a criticism on his plays, inasmuch as his fame depends but little upon them, and will probably hereafter depend still less. They were written for the most part with that haste which was necessitated by poverty;\* and while they continually exhibit the inalienable vigour of his mind, were defaced with unbearable indecencies. One of them, indeed, entitled, 'Mr. Limberhand; or, the Kind Keeper,' was prohibited after the third performance, on the score of its indecency; an event which, having occurred in the reign of Charles the Second needs no comment. It is only doing justice to Dryden to state, that twenty-two years' afterwards, he openly avowed his repentance for these improprieties, in his preface to the 'Fables,' a selection from the tales of Chaucer, modernized by Dryden, in numbers and style.

'May I have leave,' he says, 'to inform my reader that I have confined my choice to such tales of Chaucer as savour nothing of immodesty. If I have desired more to please than to instruct, the Reeve, the Miller, the Shipman, the Merchant, the Sumner, and above all the Wife of Bath, in the prologue to her tale, would have procured me as many friends and readers as there are beaux and ladies of pleasure in the town. But I will no more offend against good manners. I am sensible, as I ought to be, of the scandal I have given by my loose writings, and make what reparation I am able by this public acknowledgment. If anything of this nature, or of profaneness, be crept into these poems, I am so far from defending it that I disown it. *Totum hoc indictum volo.*—Vol. ii. pp. 248.

In estimating Dryden's dramatic excellence regard must be had to the fact, that during the whole period of the Commonwealth the theatres had been closed, from a sense, and that by no means a mistaken one, of their baneful influence on public morality. Hence dramatic genius had been laid to sleep during a time when all the powers and passions of society had been kept by unparalleled events in the condition of the intensest vigilance. During

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\* 'The exigencies,' says Dr. Johnson, 'in which Dryden was condemned to pass his life are reasonably supposed to have blasted his genius, to have driven out his works in a state of immaturity, and to have intercepted the full-blown elegance which longer growth would have supplied.'

the long trance of the drama, the pulpit superseded the stage with a power and pathos which stirred up the very depths of the social mind, while the most elaborate and animated controversy not only exalted the tastes of the people, but also developed the copiousness and power of their language, to a degree of which it might before have been supposed incapable. With the Restoration the drama arose from the sepulchre, and shook off the dust but not the corruption. During its long sleep, the age and the language had changed. The 'Muse,' as Sir Walter Scott happily observes, 'awoke in the same antiquated and absurd vestments in which she had fallen asleep twenty years before; or, if the reader will pardon another simile, the poets were like those who after long mourning resume for a time their ordinary dresses, of which the fashion has, in the mean time, passed away.' In dismissing Dryden's dramatic productions we quote the language of Mr. Macaulay's admirable Essay in the 'Edinburgh Review.' 'His plays, his rhyming plays in particular, are admirable subjects for those who wish to study the morbid anatomy of the drama. He was utterly destitute of the power of exhibiting real human beings. Even in the far inferior talent of composing characters out of those elements into which the imperfect process of our reason can resolve them he was very deficient. His men are not even good personifications; they are not well assorted assemblages of qualities. Now and then, indeed, he seizes a very coarse and marked distinction, and gives us not a likeness but a strong caricature, in which a single peculiarity is protruded and everything else neglected, like the Marquis of Granby at the inn door, whom we know by nothing but his baldness; or Wilkes, who is Wilkes only in his squint. These are the best specimens of his skill, for most of his pictures seem, like Turkey carpets, to have been expressly designed not to resemble "anything in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth."'

In 1667, Dryden published the 'Annus Mirabilis,' in which, as remarked by his editor, he first developed his powers of description. 'We have here,' he says, 'the dawn of the revolution he afterwards completely effected in English poetry—diction distinguished by strength, purity, and fitness, flowing versification, and the final abandonment, with a few exceptional excesses, of metaphysical obscurity and imagerial conceits.' This work affords one of many instances in which both the writings and the character of Dryden have been the subject of fierce dispute, and that even among the ablest critics. Dr. Johnson characterizes it as one of his most elaborate works, and in this judgment he is both preceded and followed by the opinions of many others whose criticisms may inspire curiosity even where

they do not command respect. On the contrary, Mr. Macaulay says, 'the *Annus Mirabilis*' shows great command of expression and a fine ear for heroic rhyme. Here its merits end. Not only has it no claim to be called poetry, but it seems to be the work of a man who could never, by any possibility, write poetry. Its affected similes are the best part of it. Gaudy weeds present a more encouraging spectacle than utter bareness. There is scarcely a single stanza in this long work to which the imagination seems to have contributed anything. It is produced not by creation but by construction. It is made up not of pictures but of inferences.—'Edinburgh Review,' vol. xlvii. p. 22.

In the face of these criticisms we must venture to say, that in many stanzas the poetry shows like crippled prose, while in some it exhibits the most detestable vice of Dryden's adulation, the comparison of Charles the Second with the Supreme Being. We instance a stanza describing the sequel of the great conflagration of London in 1666 :

The father of the people opened wide  
His stores, and all the poor with plenty fed ;  
Thus God's anointed, God's own place supplied,  
And filled the empty with his daily bread.

Had the monarch supplied the wants of the houseless citizens from his own private resources this eulogium could scarcely be defended by religious reverence ; but as all the bounties commemorated were extorted from the pockets of the nation, our censure on the impiety of the poet is lost in our ridicule of his absurdity.

In 1681, he brought out the tragic comedy of 'The Spanish Friar,' which we only mention to indicate the change which was now about to pass upon Dryden's religious profession. This, with one memorable exception, was his last manifesto on the side of protestantism, and in it he satirized the Catholics with the utmost animosity ; yet in the same year he produced the first part of his celebrated poem, 'Absalom and Achitophel,' which is supposed to have been written at the instance of the king, and to have occupied nine months in its composition. The poem was occasioned by the rebellion of the Earl of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles the Second. Monmouth is represented as Absalom, whose chief adviser, the Earl of Shaftesbury, was Achitophel.

'The Exclusion Bill,' says Mr. Bell, 'was the great question at issue between the king and the whigs ; and the Roman-catholic religion, if not actually the religion of the sovereign, was notoriously identified with his party. It was impossible to defend the king, therefore, without seeming to support popery. Such was the dilemma in which Dryden placed himself by his sudden transition from the 'Spanish Friar,' in



which the bitterest scorn and detestation were flung upon the Jesuits, to the 'Absalom and Achitophel,' in which the royal obstinacy was sustained, in its resistance to the protestant appeals of the people. Conscious of the damaging arguments that might be brought against the poem, if the source from whence it proceeded were avowed, he published it anonymously. But the art, the variety, the exquisite acrimony of the satire could not be mistaken. The authorship was detected at once.'—Vol. i. p. 50.

'Absalom and Achitophel' was one of the most powerful, and has ever been one of the most admired of Dryden's poetical compositions. The portrait of Lord Shaftesbury as Achitophel has become familiar to every reader of English verse, and furnished Lord Byron with an opportunity of sneering at what he regarded as the comparative imbecility of Wordsworth. A single line,

'For priests of all religions are the same,'

gives the key to the ecclesiastical tendencies of the work. Dryden evidently desired to assume a position of neutrality, in order to cover his intended secession to the ranks of the Roman Catholics. If he meant, as we presume he did, to condemn only the generality of the clergy of the popish and Anglican churches, it is unnecessary to except against his satire; while if, on the other hand, he intended to place Jeremy Taylor, Baxter, and Bunyan in the same category with Laud and his hireling associates, his statement would be too absurd to merit a reply.

The second part of 'Absalom and Achitophel,' which appeared in 1682, was chiefly written by Nahum Tate, to whom Dryden transferred the task for reasons not sufficiently explained; his own contribution to it having been confined to about two hundred lines. 'The principal characters,' says Mr. Bell, 'drawn by Dryden in his contributions to this second part, are those of Little and Shadwell, under the names of Doeg and Og. He treats them both with the utmost contempt, and descending to personal traits, has bequeathed to us an immortal portrait of Shadwell reeling home drunk from a 'treason-tavern' behind his flambeau,

'Round as a globe, and liquored every chink.'

The publication of the second part of 'Absalom and Achitophel' was followed in a few days by that of the 'Religio Laici,' a poem the title of which was evidently derived from Sir Thomas Brown's 'Religio Medici.' The light which this poem throws on Dryden's religious opinions is not only dubious but extremely perplexing. It is a bold declaration of the protestant faith, and that in doubtful and dangerous times, on the part of a man who seems to have given a very thoughtful attention to the points at issue between the rival churches. Indeed, he felt it necessary to justify

his entering as a layman on so profound a theological disquisition.

'If,' he says in his preface, 'it be objected to me that being a layman I ought not to have concerned myself with speculations which belong to the profession of divinity, I could answer, that, perhaps, laymen with equal advantages of parts and knowledge, are not the most incompetent judges of sacred things; but in the due sense of my own weakness and want of learning I plead not this. I pretend not to make myself a judge of faith in others, but only to make a confession of my own. I lay no unhallowed hand upon the ark, but wait on it with the reverence that becomes me at a distance. In the next place, I will ingenuously confess, that the helps I have used in this small treatise were many of them taken from the works of our own reverend divines of the Church of England; so that the weapons with which I combat irreligion are already consecrated.'—Vol. ii. p. 35.

But, in truth, Dryden does not seem to have been floating on the billows of an ocean vague from its boundlessness, but rather to have been tossed about in the short and chopping sea of self-interest. In the text of the Poem we find the following lines in advocacy of personal religious responsibility and the right of private judgment:—

More safe and much more modest 'tis to say,  
God would not leave mankind without a way,  
And that the Scriptures, though not everywhere  
Free from corruption, or entire or clear,  
Are uncorrupt, sufficient clear, entire,  
In all things which our needful faith require.  
If others in the same glass better see,  
'Tis for themselves they look, but not for me;  
For my salvation must its doom receive,  
Not from what others, but what I believe.—Ib. p. 53.

Yet so little does he seem grounded in the great principle of private judgment that he writes a few pages afterwards the following lines:—

And after hearing what our Church can say,  
If still our reason runs another way,  
That private reason 'tis more just to curb  
Than by disputes the public peace disturb;  
For points obscure are of small use to learn,  
But common quiet is mankind's concern.—Ib. p. 56.

The Athanasian Creed seems to have been a sad stumbling block to Dryden. If its prefatory damnation includes all who never heard of the Gospel, his perplexed understanding honestly revolts against it, though even of this he says, 'I am far from blaming even that prefatory addition to the Creed, and as far from cavilling at the continuation of it in the Liturgy of the Church where, on the days appointed, it is publicly read.' Dryden

embarrassment would, on a less sacred subject, be amusing. His half reverential intellect was evidently puzzled by such dogmas on the nature of Christ as, 'One, not by conversion of the God-head into flesh; but by taking of the manhood into God, One altogether; not by confusion of substance but by unity of person.'

And well it might be; for the whole farrago is the crude metaphysics of an age certainly as incapable as any that preceded or followed it of elucidating the unfathomable mysteries which loom around the distinct, intelligible basis of the Christian faith. In his perplexity he betakes himself to three refuges almost equally frail. First he says, 'To such as are grounded in the true belief, those explanatory creeds, the Nicene and this of Athanasius, might perhaps be spared, for what is supernatural will always be a mystery in spite of exposition; and for my own part, the plain Apostles' Creed is most suitable to my weak understanding, as the simplest diet is the most easy of digestion.' He might well find what is called the Apostles' Creed so light of digestion; for, as if by a predestined confusion of all written creeds, there is omitted from it the slightest reference to the grand cardinal point of the Christian faith—the doctrine of the atonement, which the Church that adopts the creed regards as the way of salvation. This was supplied in the Nicene Creed by the words, 'For us men and for our salvation.'

Dryden's second refuge has reference to the nonconformists, whom he thus contrasts with the papists: of the latter he says, 'They have kept the Scripture from us what they could, and have reserved to themselves a right of interpreting what they have delivered, under a pretence of infallibility;' while of the nonconformists he says, 'They have assumed what amounts to an infallibility in the private spirit, and have detorted those texts of Scripture which are not necessary for salvation to the damnable uses of sedition, disturbance, and destruction of the civil government.' This latter shifting of the whole ground of the controversy will not escape the reader's observation. The politics of the nonconformists and the use they may have made of Scripture to consecrate them, is one thing, but the right of private judgment is another; and to this he has already given his deliberate assent. In the embarrassment of his position, occasioned alike by his ignorance, his interests, and the peculiarity both of his social and official position, he betakes himself to a third refuge, still more absurd. 'If,' he says, 'there be anything more required of me, I must believe it as well as I am able in spite of the witnesses, and out of a decent conformity to the votes of Parliament, for I suppose the fanatics will not allow the private spirit in this case. Here the infallibility is at least in one part of the government; and our understandings as well as our wills are represented.'



Dryden here unconsciously abandons the whole case. To intrust the decision of disputed theological points to the legislature, is obviously more absurd than to commit it to the arbitration of the priesthood, while both courses are equally subversive of that right of private judgment which Dryden had just been maintaining. It is difficult to say whether religion perishes more certainly when it is dependent on the dicta of a priesthood or the acts of a parliament. History leaves the dilemma unsolved; and reason can only decide the dispute by cutting the knot, and abjuring the authority of both. The declaration that the understandings of the people, especially on ecclesiastical subjects, were in the times of Charles the Second—to say nothing of our own—represented in the legislature, is ridiculous to the last degree, and of this absurdity Dryden himself must have been perfectly conscious. In spite of all his difficulties, in his ‘*Religio Laici*’ he ever and anon stumbles on the truth, and exhibits it with his characteristic boldness. Of this the following passage is a striking illustration—

But if there be a power too just and strong  
To wink at crimes, and bear unpunished wrong,  
Look humbly upward; see his will disclose  
The forfeit first, and then the fine impose,  
A mulet thy poverty could never pay,  
Had not eternal wisdom found the way,  
And with celestial wealth supplied thy store;  
His justice makes the fine, his mercy quits the score.  
See God descending in thy human frame;  
The offended suffering in the offender's name:  
All thy misdeeds to him imputed see,  
And all his righteousness devolved on thee.—Ib. p. 47.

And again, in speaking of the Bible, and the suppression of it by the Papal Church, he says—

The Book's a common largess to mankind,  
Not more for them than every man designed;  
The welcome news is in the letter found;  
The carrier's not commissioned to expound.  
It speaks itself, and what it does contain,  
In all things needful to be known, is plain.—Ib. p. 54.

It is humiliating to find Dryden three years after the publication of the ‘*Religio Laici*’ composing a controversial poem entitled ‘*The Hind and the Panther*,’ in which he openly and avowedly commits himself as a member and an advocate of the Roman-catholic Church; and it is still more painful to reflect that this change of profession occurred immediately after the receipt of a pension from the Crown, sufficient of itself to place him in easy circumstances. It is unnecessary here to repeat the

numerous criticisms which have been written upon the structure of this poem. To make two wild beasts argue on points of controversy, and one of them to declare herself the infallible church; to make them argue on transubstantiation and infallibility, apostolical succession and the Thirty-nine Articles, would seem at first sight absurd to the last degree; and nothing but the extraordinary talents of Dryden could have saved his poem from universal ridicule, on account of its scheme, irrespectively of the manner in which it was carried out, to say nothing of the *prima facie* evidence of its dishonesty, owing to the coincidence of the religious tergiversation it displays, with the pecuniary interest of its author. Still the controversial poems of Dryden, and this more especially, vindicates a new claim to the otherwise equivocal honour of the laurels which he wore. He not only merits the fame of having inaugurated by his style a new epoch in British poetry, but he was also the first and the greatest of versifiers who adapted controversy to numbers. How far this can be considered a legitimate honour may fairly be questioned. Prose would seem the most natural vehicle of controversy. The province of poetry is to delight,

‘Animis natum inventumque poema juvandis,’

while the object of controversy is to instruct and convince. To combine the two is hard if not unnatural; the attempt even in the most skilful hands incessantly flattens poetry into prose, and if Horace’s judgment may be taken,

‘Si paulum a summo decessit, vergit ad inum.’

True poetry is far too ethereal a thing to bind the fierce forces of polemical strife, and while it retains its genuine nature and function, it is not the artillery of controversy but the ‘voice of the turtle’ heard in the piping times of peace.

As happens in all such cases, our poet takes care to have the advantages all on his own side; and if the object is to conquer the reader, he loses the battle by the use he makes of those very advantages. Thus in the matter of infallibility we find the following lines put into the mouth of the bestial representative of popery—

Now since you grant some necessary guide,  
All who can err are justly laid aside,  
Because a trust so sacred to confer  
Shows want of such a sure interpreter;  
And how can he be needful who can err?  
Then granting that unerring guide we want,  
That such there is you stand obliged to grant;  
Our Saviour else were wanting to supply  
Our needs, and obviate that necessity.

It then remains, that Church can only be  
The guide, which owns unfailing certainty.—Ib. 121.

Surely it is singular that it never occurred to the mind of Dryden that he only puts forth the *claim* to infallibility on the part of the Romish Church as the *evidence* of that infallibility which is to supersede the reason and the faith of mankind; but by what grounds is this claim supported which have not been participated by the great and the good of all ages who have stood aloof from the Romish Church as corrupt and anti-christian? Why may not the Mormons make the same claim, and between the proofs and sanctions adduced, Joe Smith's exhumed tablets on the one part, and on the other the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius, the tweaking of the devil's nose with red hot tongs by St. Anthony, and the protest of the Blessed Virgin against the *sacre Dieu* of the French cab-drivers to the cow-boys at La Salette, who shall decide? Dryden assumes the decision after the fashion of Mr. Speaker on a private bill;—those who are for the cow-boys will say, Aye;—those who are for Joe Smith will say, No. The Ayes have it.

The overpowering force of tradition to interpret, if not to supersede the written word, is illustrated with great unction by the milk-white Hind; the transmission from Father to Son of apostolic doctrine, and the implicit reliance of after ages on the strength of that transmission, is made by Dryden the pillar and the ground of faith.

It would take us out of our way to appeal to Palæphatus, who seeks to resolve the magnified and monstrous myths of the Greeks into an historical base, and perhaps the innumerable deceptions of which the Cock-lane ghost is an example, would be more suited to our purpose. But even could we admit that the tradition of patent facts, such as the assassination of Julius Cæsar, or the existence of the pyramids, could survive the waste of time and be received with the rational credit due to historic facts, it may well be inquired how far this confidence is due to doctrines always debateable from their mysterious nature, and still further surrounded with an impenetrable mist by the interested motives of those through whom they were transmitted. If an historical fact must be received with caution, which is only traditional, and finds no place in authentic annals, what shall we say of a metaphysical dogma which has furnished the theme of the controversy of ages? And more especially what must we conclude when we find it fettered through the compulsory ignorance of generations, only relieved by the dry scholasticism of a priesthood always interested, and too frequently unprincipled and base? Is the authority of such a tradition on such subjects to be extolled above the rational and reverent examination of the Christian world?



We should not have thought it necessary to make these remarks upon poems which Dr. Johnson declared, that even in his day, and with all the merits he ascribed to them, were only perused as a task, had not the essential part of this controversy been revived in our own days ; but the rational piety of the age has been again assailed by the follies of sacramental efficacy, and the doctrine of the real presence. Prelates and priests, and the *sine nomine turba* of curates are swelling the retrogressive crowd, who, in most instances, we fear, from the lust of spiritual despotism, are veering towards the faith and practice of the Church of Rome. Of this secession Dryden's sagacity was prophetic. He hits the blots in the constitution of the Anglican Church with an unerring lance. He perfectly understood the compromise between Romanism and Protestantism designed in the Prayer Book of the Church of England. Hence in such passages as the following, the Hind, as the Church of Rome, takes a fatal advantage of the Panther, which represents the Church of England.

The Panther smiled at this. 'And when,' said she,  
 'Were those first Councils disallowed by me?  
 Or where did I at sure Tradition strike,  
 Provided still it were Apostolic?'  
 'Friend,' said the Hind, 'you quit your former ground,  
 Where all your faith you did on Scripture found;  
 Now, 'tis Tradition joined with Holy Writ;  
 But thus your memory betrays your wit.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'But you, who Fathers and Traditions take,  
 And garble some, and some you quite forsake,  
 Pretending church authority to fix,  
 And yet some grains of private spirit mix,  
 Are like a mule made up of different seed,  
 And that's the reason why you never breed;  
 At least not propagate your kind abroad,  
 For home dissenters are by statutes awed,  
 And yet they grow upon you every day.'

And again,

'Why all these wars to win the Book, if we  
 Must not interpret for ourselves, but she?  
 Either be wholly slaves, or wholly free.'

Dryden could not have written more appositely on the anomalous condition of the Anglican Church if he had sat in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and heard, as we did, from the lips of the late Lord Langdale, the decision of that tribunal on the action between Mr. Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter. Despising that rock-founded right of private judgment to which the Saviour himself did homage, both churches rest on

the fluctuating basis of a declared or an implied infallibility, the one clinging to the sandy shoal of tradition, the other rocking on the waves which beat against it,—the alternate billows of assumption and compromise.\*

We have left ourselves no space in which to comment on the more fugitive but purely poetical productions of Dryden. ‘His poem,’ says Dr. Johnson, ‘on the death of Mrs. Killigrew is undoubtedly the noblest ode which our language has ever produced.’ His ‘Ode for St. Cecilia’s Day’ has been lauded to that point at which all eulogy becomes tame, while the heroic raptures of his ‘Alexander’s Feast’ absolutely eclipse all similar productions in British literature. Of his prose it is not too much to say, that in the department of literature to which he addressed himself he was the father and founder of English criticism. In this branch of composition he strengthened the very soil of his mother tongue, insomuch that it is difficult to say how far modern writers are indebted to his development of the resources of our language. His learning was comprehensive and profound. He may fairly be called the father of British translators, for ‘Dryden’s Virgil’ will be admired so long as the literature of Rome and of England shall exist. And yet amidst all this *matériel*,—the artillery of controversial satire, the accuracy of logic, the polemical zeal, the almost unrivalled aptitude at versification, the gracefulness of courtly adulation, the stateliness of the epic, and the thunder of the ode, we still desiderate the ‘divine particle’ whose presence would have made the world his kindred. We bend to the authority of Milton, that ‘he was a rhymers, but no poet;’ and comparing his life with his writings, our judgment subsides into acquiescence with the sighing line of Gray—

‘Beneath the good how far, how far above the great!’

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\* The practice which degrades the Anglican Church to what Mr. D’Israeli has happily called an organized hypocrisy is illustrated by Dryden in the couplet

‘To church decrees your Articles require  
Submission modified, if not entire.’

- ART. VI.—*Olshausen on the Corinthians*. Edinburgh: Clark.
2. *Eccard on the Hebrews*. Edinburgh: Clark.
  3. *Hengstenberg on the Apocalypse*. Edinburgh: Clark.
  4. *Dr. John Brown's Exposition of Galatians*. Edinburgh: Oliphant & Sons.
  5. *Knight on the Romans*. London: Bagsters.
  6. *Benecke on the Romans*. London: Longman & Co.
  7. *Pridman on the Romans and Ephesians*. Bath: Binns & Goodwin.
  8. *Du Veil on Acts*. London: Hansard Knollys Society.
  9. *Barnes on the Revelation*. London: Knight & Son.
  10. *Gell on the Apocalypse*. London: Wertheim & Macintosh.
  11. *Scott on the Apocalypse*. London: Longman & Co.
  12. *Camming's Readings on the Old and New Testament*. London: Shaw.
  13. *Turnbull's Translation of Paul's Epistles*. London: Bagsters.
  14. *Good on the Psalms*. London: Seeleys.
  15. *Bouchier's Manna in the House*. London: Shaw.
  16. *Lord Arthur Hervey on the Genealogies of our Lord*. Cambridge: Macmillan.
  17. *Taylor's Word Pictures from the Bible*. London: Longman & Co.
  18. *MacLeod's Cherubim, and Apocalypse*. London: Longman & Co.
  19. *Jukes on the Gospels*. London: Nisbet.
  20. *Moody's Helps for Bible Readers*. London: Wertheim & Macintosh.
  21. *Smith on the Origin and Connexion of the Gospels*. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons.
  22. *Stebbing's Helps to Reading the Gospels*. London: Wertheim & Macintosh.
  23. *Higginson's Spirit of the Bible*. London: Whitfield.
  24. *Maurice on the Unity of the New Testament*. London: Parker & Son.
  25. *Forbes's Symmetrical Structure of Scripture*. Edinburgh: Clark.

LET no reader start at the long array of titles thus placed together. We are not going to analyse them all. But we mean to offer some reflections on sundry topics which the examination of them has suggested, and which, we trust, will not be without profit. These books form but a small selection from Biblical works which have lately come before us, and they bear but a slight proportion to the full stream of similar productions ever pouring forth from the prolific press of Germany, of which only a few find their way to English readers.

The first thing that strikes us, in mentally reviewing them, is—the proof they offer of the wakeful attention now paid in Germany, in America, and in England to the study of the Scriptures.



That this is the true method of arriving at theology, properly so called, there can be no doubt. The existence of these Scriptures is, of course, an undeniable fact, however it may be accounted for, or whatever may be the uses made of it. That men are to exercise their private judgment on their origin, their textual condition, their meaning, their authority, and their applications to the affairs of this life, and to the prospect after death, we regard not merely as a matter of right and of duty, but even as *an indispensable necessity arising from the irrefragable laws of our mental constitution*; and, therefore, the better the materials are by which we may have our judgment guided, and the more diligently and honestly we avail ourselves of these helps, the nearer will be our approximation towards a perfect comprehension of these sacred books.

We are prepared for being told—by Romanists, for instance—that this constant multiplication of translations, commentaries, helps, and so forth, is a condemning proof of the grand error of Protestants, in setting up their private judgment in opposition to the authority of the Church. We fancy one of them saying—Why should there be all these books on Scripture? You pretend that the Scriptures are sufficiently plain,—so plain, indeed, that every reader can understand them without additional teaching from without; and yet you are always craving for more external light, thus opening a ready market for the wares of every bibliopole whom writers, full of self-conceit, can persuade to put their imagined elucidations of Scripture into print! You turn away from the Church of Christ, whom He has made the authoritative expounder of His mind, and listen with itching ears to every self-constituted teacher; and when you have wearied your brain and perplexed your judgment by their inconsistent and even contradictory instructions, you must either become the disciple of one set,—or construct for yourselves a syncretical medley of your own,—or give up the Scriptures as a most uncertain rule of faith,—or, finally, return to the one teacher from whom you have been seduced by these pretenders.—It is very likely that not a few Protestants would be somewhat shaken by such a close attack as this. It is specious. And yet it may be fairly met; and triumphantly repelled. It is most true, that for all the essential purposes of Revelation, the Bible is plainer than any book written to explain it. Take what critical edition you can, any translation of its text will teach you that God is right; that, before God, you are wrong; that for this wrong you deserve to suffer; that, nevertheless, you need not suffer, if you confess the wrong you have done, seek the forgiveness of it for the sake of Jesus Christ, the Son of God and the Son of man, who gave Himself for this purpose; that God's Spirit will be given, if you ask, to turn you

into the right way, and to keep you in it; that the proof of your having been pardoned, and led by the Spirit, will be seen in your holy life; and that God has promised, to all who follow Christ, the gift of everlasting life in blessedness. The words we have here used are not so plain as the words of Scripture; but so many unscriptural notions have been mixed up with the divine truth, that it becomes an advantage to have that truth expressed in this simple way. But, though the *vital* teaching of Scripture is thus plain, in all editions and translations, we would tell our Romanist counsellor, that it is no part of Protestantism to imagine that it is of no importance to know what God teaches in any part of His Revelation; that all editions of the text are equally trustworthy; that all translations are equally good; or, that the force of words and phrases, and the allusions to historical, local, ancient, and obsolete oriental peculiarities can be understood without much research by ourselves and others. We would further tell him, that men never use their judgment on any question which interests them without seeking all the guidance they can find, from whatever quarter, and that it is in this well-known sense that we speak of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures. We would ask *him* whether his church has provided these helps. If she has, why has she done so, but from deference to the principle on which we take our stand:—if she has not—why not? Are men to do without such instruction, or are they to seek it elsewhere? So long as men are politically and socially free, we have no doubt that they will, sooner or later, use their judgment *on everything*: that, in the unfettered use of that judgment, they will reasonably determine to submit to authority, would not appear very likely? for, in that case, the advocates of Romanism would be the foremost champions of intellectual freedom, and of the natural authority of an enlightened judgment formed by men rejoicing in that freedom.

Others, who are not Romanists, however, are not unlikely to say—what *can* be the use of such multitudes of expositors? Have we not in the English Church, Clarke, and Patrick, and Whitby, and Mant, and Scott; among Wesleyans, Wesley and Adam Clarke; among Presbyterians, Brown, and Campbell, and McKnight; among Congregationalists, Henry, and Orton, and Doddridge, and Guyse, and Gill? Now, we are so far from disparaging these favourite old expositors, that we are of opinion they have done great good, and that they are likely to continue doing good for many years to come; at the same time, we are not of opinion that when the last of them rested from his labours in this field, they left no work to be done by others. The time is coming—it *has* come, indeed, long since—for ascertaining somewhat more precisely the principles on which the accuracy of

the editions of the original Scriptures is to be determined; the laws of mind, language, usage, narrative, didactic instruction, poetry, and symbolic prophecy, which guide us safely in the interpretation of these ancient writings; the *specialty* of interpretation belonging to them as the writings of men inspired of God in writing them; and, as facilities for these objects have rapidly increased with the activity of the human mind, the intercourse of distant nations, and the general augmentation of philological and other sciences, there is just as good reason for examining—and there *may be* for using—the new works as there was for examining and using the old ones when they were new. As the Bible is manifestly designed for all nations, and for all ages, we can scarcely imagine that its treasures have been exhausted by the Christian scholarship of the nations into whose hands it has already come, or of the ages which have passed away. Whether or not we accept the expositions of the numerous writers whose works have come before us, we confess our obligations to them all; while to those who yet live, and are still pursuing their labours, we would cheerfully afford whatever encouragement they may draw from our grateful appreciation of what they have done. There must be more or less loving reverence to induce a man to devote years, sometimes a whole life, to the study of Scripture with unusual advantages of leisure, learning, libraries, critical apparatus, and hermeneutical helps, and a judgment disciplined by habitual studies and compositions of this kind; and it would be a poor return for such persevering and laborious devotion to tell him that all the work of this kind that needed to be done has been done already. Such a course is not only ungrateful to these hard-workers in the service of the Universal Church on behalf of our common humanity—it is a pernicious form of ignorance and narrow-mindedness, fraught with incalculable mischief both to the present generation and to those which are to follow. We would have the study of the Scriptures to keep its place in the van of all other studies. This cannot be done by fixing a line beyond which we will not pass. The old ideas of our fathers would be novelties, not always welcome, it may be, to *their* fathers; but it is the practice of wise expounders to conserve all the old that is true, adding what was not known, comparing different interpretations in order to give the preference to those which appear to be the best sustained, and judging not less freely, nor less reverentially, than their predecessors, what it is that Holy Scripture teaches.

We are not insensible of the worth of those large commentaries which professedly embrace the entire books of the Old and New Testaments. We owe too much to 'Synopsis Poli' and to the 'Critica Sacra' to think lightly of such compendiums; and we have already expressed ourselves respectfully towards modern



commentaries in our own tongue. But we confess that a writer, however learned or competent in every other respect, must have spent a very long life before he can be *qualified* to do justice to the various books of Hebrew and Greek—such Greek, too, as that of the New Testament—even in his own mind. If we could be assured that the expositor of any Hebrew book had mastered the genius of that language, imbibing its singular phase of the oriental spirit, feeling how its modifications of words and its idiomatic thoughts and expressions agree with, or differ from, those of cognate dialects, such as the Syriac and the Arabic, so rich in literature of various kinds, we should rejoice to follow his independent *testimony* as a witness of what it means. But in large portions of the prophetic compositions, we should still be at a loss, unless we could trace in the commentator a large infusion of the *poetical* element. We are not contending for this kind of scholarship and this style of genius for the purpose of dealing with the palpable facts of Scriptures, and drawing from them the most valuable suggestions of practical wisdom; or so presenting them as to awaken and cherish the holy affections in which religion so much consists. But we must say that there is a deeper confidence deserved by such expositors as we have described, who, it is scarcely necessary to add, are seldom to be met with. We consult them with a stronger persuasion that they are able to teach us. We feel that they know more, and that what they know is more original, more the result of perspicuous examination, more likely to bring our minds into communion with those of the writers whom we are seeking to understand, having, by their help, approached more nearly to what is said, and to the meaning of the words, and phrases, and allusions; we are, at the same time, in a better condition to appreciate the comments of less scholarly writers, and to apply to the varied purposes of life the observations which their discernment, experience, piety, or extensive reading may have enabled them to make upon the Sacred Writings.

For this reason, we set a high value on the Commentaries of the late Dr. Olshausen, of Erlangen, which Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh have taken so much pains to have translated into English. The volumes we have now before us, on 'The Epistles to the Corinthians,' and that completed by Dr. Evrard, of the same University, on 'The Epistle to the Hebrews,' are excellent specimens of the class-teaching given by professors of theology in German colleges. They require the reader to have a knowledge of the Greek Testament, and, indeed, of the Hebrew Scriptures; and if read with an independent judgment, free from the bias of Teutonic theories, and careful to make those comparisons of one part of Scripture with another, without which we consider the use of *any* commentary to be a mistake, these pre-

lections will serve the conscientious student greatly as *auxiliaries* in the prosecution of his work. They are designed for continuous use, rather than for occasional consultation. This design is sometimes overlooked, and persons are apt to refer to such volumes, somewhat as one refers to a lexicon or gazetteer, expecting, but seldom finding, a thorough exposition of a passage of Scripture simply taken by itself. A little reflection ought to convince us that such a manner of reaping what other men have sown—or rather of garnering what others have reaped—is doing great injustice to the writers we thus haadle, to the Scriptures, and to our own minds. Similar observations apply to such works as those of Hengstenberg on the ‘Apocalypse,’ Benecke on ‘The Romans,’ and Du Veil on ‘The Acts,’ which last work gives prominence to the views of Baptists. To the gentlemen who have translated these German or Dutch Commentaries into English, we gratefully acknowledge our obligations. To the publishers we would advise a little more attention to the printing, especially in Hebrew words, where we are perpetually annoyed by the grossest *errata*. We have already witnessed some of the happy effects of making these Biblical treasures accessible to English teachers of religion; and we shall greatly rejoice to learn that we have done anything to widen their circulation.

In addition to thus welcoming *foreign* labourers, we look with much satisfaction on the learned labours of our fellow-countrymen. To those who know Dr. Mason Good’s eminence as a medical writer, and as a classical translator, and who are familiar with his excellent translation, with Notes, of the Book of Job, we need say little in commendation of his new Translation of the Book of Psalms, very carefully edited by the venerable Dr. Henderson. Lord Arthur Hervey deserves great praise for the erudition, the patience, the judgment, and the piety which have been so successful in elucidating a part of Scripture which previous writers had left in much obscurity, and over which he has thrown a novel interest and various lights, though he does not pretend to have entirely cleared it from all difficulty. The principle of the work lies in tracing *both lines* of genealogy—Matthew’s and Luke’s—to Joseph, *not* to Mary; the one marking him as Solomon’s heir, the other, as David’s son; both being reconciled with the genealogy of the House of David in the Old Testament. We can scarcely assure the reader who does not know enough of Hebrew to read the words, so as to distinguish one from another, that he will *thoroughly* understand the author; yet, even in that case, we conscientiously recommend it to all who are willing to ‘search the Scriptures’ in relation to a topic which is ordinarily passed over as one of slight value and impossible to comprehend. The real scholar, whose scholarship extends to the original

language of the Old as well as of the New Testament—the latter being much more dependent on the former than is usually imagined—we are persuaded will find here a truly interesting investigation, carried on with judicious freedom, and to a very satisfactory issue.

Dr. Turnbull's 'Original Translation of Paul's Epistles' belongs to a class of works which we esteem to be of great value. Properly regarding these letters as popular, 'addressed mostly to congregations of the people,' he regrets the practice of breaking them up into fragments for 'theological and professional purposes;' and his aim is 'to place before the English reader the letters of the apostle as nearly as possible in the same form as that of the original addressed to the primitive believers. It is to put the English reader in the same condition as the Ephesian, or the Thessalonian, or the Roman, or the Philippian, who certainly received the apostle's letter *as a letter*, and read it, as a letter ought to be read, throughout and continuously; not a sentence or two to-day and another to-morrow, and the rest after the others are nearly forgotten; so as to miss the general sense and scope of the letter, and to lose altogether the thread of the composition.' We are glad to learn that 'The Evangelical Pentateuch,' consisting of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, is in a course of preparation on a similar plan, and that there is some prospect of having the remaining Epistles and the Apocalypse likewise translated, so as to form a complete version of the New Testament. If such an undertaking be wisely accomplished, it will be as precious an acquisition to the English people as we can well imagine. It is not the least valuable of the services for which we are so much indebted to the accurate and beautifully executed work of Messrs. Bagster.

Besides Dr. Hengstenberg's 'Exposition of the Revelation of John,' we have placed on our list those of Mr. Scott, Mr. Gell, Mr. Barnes, and Mr. Macleod. There are some important differences between the respective views of these expounders. Hengstenberg regards everything in the book as 'adapted to serve as the means of consolation and support to the Church in the conflict which she has to wage with *heathenism* and its invisible head,' the aim of the book being thoroughly *practical*. He divides the contents into *seven groups*—the seven *Epistles*—which form a commentary on the appearance of the Lord. These are followed by two groups—the *Seven Seals*—of which the main burden is, the Church, harassed by the persecutions of the world, having the image of her heavenly King placed before her eyes, as He visits the persecuting world with bloodshed, scarcity, famine, pestilence; as He brings upon it the most alarming circumstances, makes all forebode the entire destruction of everything that concerns it, and



at last (c. viii.) subjects it to the annihilating stroke of ruin. The *Seven Trumpets*, in the main part of which the plague of *war*—the most frightful of God's scourges—is represented under a series of symbols, as that by which God continually, during the course of ages, chastises anew the heathenish opposition which is made to His kingdom. The episode in the tenth chapter, to the thirteenth verse of the eleventh, exhibits the reaction in the Church against the inevitable tendency to apostatize, and the chastening which should prepare the way for the operations of grace. The fourth group is that of *the three enemies of God's kingdom* (chap. xii.—xiv.)—Satan, the beast from the sea, denoting the God-opposing worldly power, with seven horns, denoting its seven phases (in chap. xii. 18; xiii. 10), and the beast from the earth, earthly, physical, demoniacal wisdom, in chap. xiii. 11-18; then in chap. xiv. believers, assailed by these enemies, leagued together in close fellowship, have consolation ministered to them by a view of the immovable condition of those who stand in the grace of God, as well as of the judgments to befall their enemies. The fifth group of *the Seven Vials* unfolds the seven plagues which during the course of centuries accompany the beast—the ungodly power of the world forming the prelude to the sixth group. The sixth group represents *the destruction* of the three enemies of God's kingdom—the beast (five of whose heads, according to chap. xvii. 10, the Egyptian, Assyrian, Chaldean, Medo-Persian, and Grecian monarchies, had fallen before the prophet's time) is to be overthrown in its sixth head—the monarchy of Rome, to be followed by the victory of Christ over the ten kings (who had been the instruments of his judgment on Rome)—the seventh head of the beast with ten horns: with this power as the last phase of the heathen world, the beast himself, also, *the state of heathendom*, perishes, and with him his assistant, the beast from the earth. Chap. xx. 1-6 represents how the third enemy, Satan, is rendered for a time harmless, and how there breaks upon the Church a reign of a thousand years. The final destruction of Satan is represented in chap. xx. 7-10. After the complete overthrow of the three enemies, there still follows the final judgment on their servants, coupled with the removal of the present constitution of the world, as now required by the extirpation of sin, in chap. xx. 11-15. The seventh group forms the conclusion of the main portion of the book, and contains the *description of the New Jerusalem*, chap. xxi. 1; xxii. 5. The conclusion of the book in chap. xxii. 6-21, which corresponds to the beginning, points to its high importance, and once more brings out its fundamental truth. Dr. Hengstenberg judges that 'we have *the thousand years* now behind us, and stand at the loosing of Satan out of his prison at the end of the

thousand years, and his going forth to deceive the heathen in the four quarters of the earth, and gather them to battle; a decision on behalf of which, as opposed to the traditional and current view, he argues at considerable length, and with great learning and sagacity.

Barnes's 'Notes on the Book of Revelation' are admirably arranged, and his views appear to us to harmonize with those of the greater part of protestant commentators. He regards the *seals* as relating to the events of the Roman empire from the death of Domitian in A.D. 96 to the invasion by the Goths and Huns in the fourth century; the first four trumpets as relating to the Western empire, till the final conquest of Rome by Odoacer, A.D. 476-490; the fifth trumpet as relating to the Saracens; the sixth to the Turks; the seventh trumpet to the final triumph of the Church. The series of visions in chap. xi. 19 to chap. xii. he regards as fulfilled in the internal condition of the church; the two beasts in chap. xiii. are the Roman civil power and the Roman ecclesiastical power. The first five vials represent the French revolution and its consequences; the sixth, the decline of the Turkish power and its consequences; the seventh, the complete and final overthrow of the papal power. He looks for the millennium as future and spiritual.

Mr. Gell's 'Interpretation of the Apocalypse' follows mainly that of Mr. Elliott's 'Horæ Apocalyptiæ,' but with several minor differences. The outlines of the book are treated as embracing four series of prophecies running parallel with each other, thus:—

| SERIES I.   | SERIES II.  | SERIES III.   | SERIES IV.   |
|---|---|---|--|
| The destinies of the Roman Empire, under the seals and the trumpets.—Chap. iv. to the end of chap. x. | The saints and martyrs of Jesus, under the symbol of the two witnesses.—Chap. x. 11 to the end of chap. xi. | The church and her enemies in the holy woman and the wild beasts.—Chap. xii. to the end of chap. xvi. | The downfall of those enemies in the harlot and the great wild beast.—Chap. xvii. to the end of chap. xix. |

He differs entirely from Mr. Elliott and other millenarians in interpreting the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse in a spiritual, not a literal, sense. His volumes are full of instruction and interest. Mr. Scott's interpretation of the Apocalypse differs from all the others in the main points which he has undertaken to establish. They are briefly expressed by himself in an advertisement from which we make the following extract:—

'They are these:—that the principal subject of the Apocalypse is the Roman empire, and Rome the capital of that empire; that a minute prophecy of events, times, and persons, connected either with the one or with the other of these, is there given; that, in particular, the abolition of the empire is represented, and that the date of this occurrence is assumed to be the year 476, when the emperors of Rome ceased; further, that *the millennial period following the fall of Rome corresponds to those ten centuries of the reign of the Church known as the Middle Ages*; that an interval of forty years is represented as

separating the fall of Rome and the beginning of the church empire; that the latter, therefore, definitely began in the year 516 and ended with the year 1516; that its overthrow was, in fact, *the immediate result of the Reformation* in punishment for the sins of the church during the thousand years; that her position from the year 1517 to the present day is analogous to the captivity of Israel in Babylon during the seventy years; finally, that this captivity is not to be perpetual, but that a complete *restoration of the church to her former supremacy* is now to be expected; and that this is to be brought about in the midst, and by the agency, of judgments upon the temporal kingdoms of the modern world, analogous to those which overwhelmed the empire of Rome in the fifth century, and so opened the way for the church empire of the middle ages.'

The reader who has studied the history of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation would be amazed to find such an interpretation as this by a Master of Arts of Oxford, who has been a Fellow of one of her colleges, if the deeply papal spirit which has long prevailed in that university had not prepared us for anything in this direction. It is superfluous to say that we do not acquiesce in Mr. Scott's interpretation. We regard it as forced, unnatural, remarkably superficial, and based on principles which we believe to be entirely contrary to those which are plainly laid down in Scripture with relation to the Church.

Mr. Macleod's handsome volume on the 'Cherubim and the Apocalypse,' we have read with much interest. The cherubim are symbols, not of angels, but of the whole Church, chiefly the redeemed in heaven. He does not seem successful in harmonizing this explanation with all the references to the cherubim in Scripture. His interpretation of the Apocalypse differs from all those which are noticed in our foregoing observations. His manner is neither critical nor argumentative, but dogmatic. According to his interpretation, the *white* horse of the *first seal* is an emblem of Christ preaching the Gospel by his apostles. The *black* horse, whose rider has a yoke in his hand, denotes 'the corruption of Christianity and the *papal* yoke.' Death on the pale horse intimates the variety of the methods of torturing and slaying God's people. The fifth seal includes the pagan and papal persecutions. The opening of the sixth seal is the final retribution. There is a similar want of distinctness throughout the volume, and, as we judge, too narrow a conception of the scheme of the Apocalypse. We heartily concur in many of the author's practical suggestions, but we have not found him very helpful in the study of the Apocalypse, chiefly from his confounding of predictions relating to the empire with those which relate to the church within its boundaries.

Dr. Brown's volume of 'Expository Discourses on the Epistle to the Galatians' is worthy to accompany his admirable exposit-



tions on 'Peter's First Epistle,' and on the 'Discourses and Sayings of our Saviour,' and similar productions of the same pen. We can scarcely commend it too strongly. We notice it here, not with the intention of reviewing it, but to express our decided preference for the method of pulpit teaching in which he so greatly excels. We do not say that the truth contained in short sentences of Scripture should never be made the basis of popular addresses; yet we are sure that the other is the legitimate, the ancient, the most instructive mode of pastoral teaching. It ought to strike every minister of religion that, as he is not to discover truth hitherto unknown, but to expound—bring out with living authority and power—the truth which has been revealed, he cannot give a better proof of his reverence for that truth than by drawing it *directly* from the sacred writers themselves, giving to his hearers all the benefit of his own previous studies to clear away misconceptions, to explain particular phrases, to exhibit the harmony of revealed instruction, and to give the Word of God its due place as the oracle of all Christian teaching. It would be a much more laborious thing to prepare such expositions for the pulpit than to lay down a plan for extemporaneous utterance, or to write what is called an eloquent discourse; and for such laborious preparations a preacher needs much antecedent training, which we hope our colleges will look after even more earnestly than after fitting their students for taking secular degrees. But he who makes up his mind to *have the training*, and to apply the results of it in the way exemplified by Dr. Brown, will certainly not lose his reward in the larger satisfaction of his own mind, and in the more thorough and lasting usefulness of his public ministry. The skilful expounding of Scripture is *an art* not to be acquired at once, but it brings with it such a peculiar, sacred, and growing power, that it is worth the most persevering efforts of any man to attain it. Just as the best scientific teachers are they who most fully expound *Nature*, so they who most fully expound *Scripture* are the best religious teachers. We do not think disparagingly of systematic theological teaching, in its place; but we say, let us have plenty of Scripture intelligibly and earnestly brought before us in its exact meaning. We consider Dr. Brown's Expositions as models; but we would have every man follow the bent of his own genius in his method and in the manner of his illustrations. Most of the works we have already characterized will be of service in providing or suggesting precious sources of exegetical learning, which, to a beginner especially, will probably be felt to be necessary.

Mr. Knight's 'Critical Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans,' commenced while the author was incapacitated for

public duty in Canada, and since enriched by the study of ancient and modern annotators during a residence in England, will be found useful to the critical student.

Mr. Pridham has written three unpretending little books on the Epistles to the Hebrews, Romans, and Ephesians, which we cheerfully commend to the use of those who have not the ability or the leisure to study larger commentaries, only mentioning that he has views with which we do not agree, which will be understood as belonging to what is called the millenarian school, though they are expressed with much Christian modesty.

Dr. Cumming's 'Sabbath Readings' are excellent. Mr. Bouchier's 'Manna in the House' will be found useful in family reading, as well as in that of the closet. Mr. Taylor's 'Word-Pictures from the Bible' are designed to interest the young in the Bible, rather than to explain the contents. We regard it as a most useful class-book, and a suitable present for the young. Mr. Jukes's 'Characteristic Differences of the Four Gospels' is a pleasing illustration of an ancient idea, that each of the evangelists has one prominent idea in his Gospel—Matthew contemplating our Lord as the Son of Abraham,—Mark, as the Servant of God,—Luke, as the Son of Adam—John, as the Son of God.

Mr. Moody's 'Helps and Hints for Bible Readers' contains brief comments on about fifty passages in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, some of which are generally regarded as difficult. The explanations are not profound, nor always satisfactory; but they are simple, pious, devout, and practical.

Some of the works we have examined, though not formal expositions, belong to the same department, inasmuch as they are intended to facilitate the study of the Scriptures. Mr. Higginson's 'Spirit of the Bible' is only the first volume of a work intended to include, in a second, the Apocrypha and the New Testament. It is not orthodox, but bears strong marks of belonging to the Unitarian school. He undervalues the apostolic ministry as the real exposition of the facts related in the Gospels. He says some smart things on some of the weaknesses of the orthodox, who, we hope, are at least good-tempered enough to profit by some of them. He remarks, very oddly, that when Paul says 'all *Scripture* is inspired of God,' he does not mean that the *writing* is inspired, though it is of *writings only* that Paul speaks. He quotes with approbation Mr. F. Newman's 'History of the Hebrew Monarchy,' and Professor Norton's notes to the second volume of his work on 'The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels.' He takes the usual *superficial* view taken by Unitarians of the demons and possessions recorded in the New Testament. He makes a great fuss about the want of scientific geology in Moses, and refers to the special pleading

of Dr. Buckland in his Bridgewater Treatise, while he makes no reference to the able lectures of Dr. Pye Smith on that subject. We do not make these remarks to prejudice our readers against the book, but merely to point out what we deem objectionable. In many respects we like it very much ; notwithstanding these objections, we are disposed to speak well of it. We are sometimes twitted by writers of Mr. Higginson's school for the narrowness of our views and the poverty of our learning ; yet here is a writer who suggests that the requisite aid for the Pentateuch will be found in *Geddes's Holy Bible* and *Wellbeloved's Holy Bible* !

Dr. Stebbing's 'Helps to the Thoughtful Reading of the Four Gospels' makes no display of learning ; but with all its simplicity, ease, and familiarity, it would not have been what it is if the author had not known much more than he has occasion to say. He gives the *results* of much critical reading in a popular form, which render his 'Helps' really what they profess to be in the service of the devout reader.

Mr. Smith's 'Dissertation on the Origin and Connexion of the Gospels' is worthy of the author to whom we are indebted for the solid and pre-eminently satisfactory illustration of 'The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul.' It is a noble specimen of honest criticism by an independent layman. It contains the antidote to the hollow pretensions of some German writers, and puts to shame the timidity which, under the semblance of reverence for Scripture, refuses to look fairly at the *actual* condition of those writings. The work is deserving of a careful examination. We can only state, in the author's own words, the conclusions to which he has been led by the evidence furnished in the Gospels themselves, and by other ancient writers, respecting the origin and connexion of the Gospels—

'1st. Several of the apostles, including Matthew, *Peter*, and John, committed to writing accounts of the transactions of our Lord and his disciples in the language spoken by them,—i. e., Syro-Chaldaic or Aramaic, known in the New Testament and the works of the Fathers as Hebrew.

'2nd. When the apostles were driven by persecution from Judæa, a history of the life of our Lord was drawn up from the original Memoirs in Hebrew and in Greek, by the Apostle Matthew, for the use of the Jewish converts,—the Greek being the same as the Gospel according to Matthew.

'3rd. St. Luke drew up, for the use of Theophilus, a new life of our Lord, founded upon the authority of eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, including the Hebrew Memoir of Peter and the Greek Gospel of Matthew.

'4th. After Peter's death or departure from Rome (ἐξοδόν), St. Mark translated the Memoir written by Peter into Greek.



'5th. John, at a still later period, composed his Gospel from his own original Memoirs, omitting much that was already narrated by the other Evangelists, for reasons assigned by himself. (xxi. 25.)

'By adopting this theory of the origin of the Gospels we can easily explain the phenomena in question. I do not, however, propound it as a probable conjecture, calculated to afford an explanation, but trust I shall be able to substantiate every part of it by adequate proof.' (p. xxv.)

The 'phenomena in question,' it is understood, consists in the *nature of the agreements* between the several independent writers of the Gospels. The 'adequate proof' which Mr. Smith promises is given in examples from modern contemporary historians and in a minute examination of the Gospels themselves, which do not admit of abridgment. The objections of Dr. Lardner, Mr. Horne, Bishop Marsh, Mr. Alford, Dr. Davidson, and Professor Thiersch to the notion that any of the Evangelists made use of the works of their predecessors are answered:—the reader must judge with what success after he has examined the synopsis of the parallel passages in the first three Gospels and that of the parallels between Matthew and Luke, together with the appended Critical Notes. We are strongly of opinion that this Dissertation will, sooner or later, have its place among standard works in Biblical literature.

Dr. Forbes's 'Symmetrical Structure of Scripture' is an expansion of Bishop Lowth's 'Doctrine of Hebrew Parallelism,' which Bishop Jebb applied to the New Testament, and which was extended by the Rev. T. Boys to whole *paragraphs*, as well as *lines*. By examples selected from the Psalms, Proverbs, the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, and numerous other parts of Scripture, Dr. Forbes has illustrated this principle in a very interesting manner. We have cautiously tested these examples, and others, so repeatedly, that we can very cordially recommend this book to all who desire to be 'mighty in the Scriptures.'

Mr. Maurice's 'Unity of the New Testament' appears to us to be a very sensible and useful book, which cannot be read as it deserves without some results which we consider to be highly desirable. Without being a Commentary, it exhibits the purpose of each particular Gospel or Epistle, and shows that they all have 'one common subject, that they refer to a living Person, that when considered in reference to Him they have a unity which we can discover by no collection or paragraphs.' We hope the writer will be spared to complete his design of another series on the 'Apostle John,' and on the 'History of the Christian Church and the Romish Apostasy.' Not a few of Mr. Maurice's peculiar opinions, from which we dissent, will, of course, be found here and there; but we do not make it a canon of criticism to condemn all the books we read, in which we find that there are

important points on which we do not hold all the opinions of the authors. Having given our readers fair notice of what they will occasionally find in this volume which we do not agree with, we have no hesitation in recommending it as well fitted to accomplish the avowed and manifest intention of the accomplished and amiable writer.

We congratulate our readers on the rich accessions which we have brought before them to the valuable helps hitherto engaged for the most sacred, delightful, and profitable of human studies. We cannot but rejoice in the fact that there is such an accumulation of Biblical treasures. It is itself an indication of an improved healthy tone in the religious mind both of Germany and of Great Britain. We hail it as the prelude of a serene and bright future. Happily, there is a middle path between cold intelligence and ignorant fervour in religion, between powerless rationalism and craven superstition, between the licentiousness mistaken for freedom and the blindness mistaken for reverence. Many forms of evil in the Church have melted before the advance of knowledge. Many more, little suspected in many quarters, await only the unity produced,—not by laws, and creeds, and forms, nor yet by the abandonment of personal convictions, but by *the right understanding of the Scriptures*, and a common feeling of warm attachment to them, awakened by a common perception of their meaning and their grandeur—to vanish before an enlightened and earnest Church as the palace of ice in the Eastern fable disappeared before the splendid fire of the noontide sun. We will not dwell upon the miserable lack of intelligence among Christians on Biblical matters, nor on the rarity of instructions which would give them broader views and more exact information. We are not ignorant of the prejudices which include large departments of human opinions on Scripture doctrines among things sacred, while it would look on the means of making the Bible a book attractive to all sorts of persons as belonging to the week-day and the Bible-class; but by no means to intrude on the Sabbath and the Pulpit. These Bible-classes, if wisely conducted, will set all that right in time; at present, there is a practical confession, on the part of great numbers of ministers in all churches, that the old economy of pulpit performances has passed away, in a great measure, from the approbation of the people. Hence, we have lectures instead of sermons, events instead of texts, histories instead of doctrines, themes which are popular with the many instead of the narrow range of topics cherished by the few.

The people go to hear this novel manner of teaching wherever it is found, and it is in course of being found everywhere. We cannot say that this is the best state of things, though it is, beyond

all doubt, greatly better than other states of things which we have witnessed. When we have a ministry 'thoroughly furnished' pervading the land, we hope to see something better still. Men will learn from books, and from lectures in other places, enough of those matters which at present gain so much attention in not a few pulpits, and a more wholesome tone of intellect will be produced by a more luminous, masculine, and masterful dealing with all the questions that concern the Scriptures. We shall look upon such a consummation as one of the most blessed revolutions in the history of the Church—the natural outcome of the grand forces which have been struggling, with more or less success, against wearing-out superstitions during the last three centuries of European life. It will be the reign of good sense in sacred as well as secular things. It will, to a large extent, substitute common agreement, based on knowledge, for controversies generated by incertitude. It will repress extravagance by dignified wisdom. It will guide nascent spirits away from the paths which lead to heresy. It will remove all but the *moral* causes of infidelity. It will supplant the skeletons of orthodoxy by the living forms of breathing, speaking, and working truth. We should be greatly misunderstood by any one who could imagine that we look for such a consummation to *merely* verbal studies in relation to the Scriptures. These are valuable as *directions* to the devout, and as furnishing *materials* for what we may represent as the higher departments of theological teaching. Without lively religious emotion, and without profound and comprehensive religious thoughtfulness, there will be little taste of the right kind for free Biblical teaching on a large scale. One fruit of such teaching, we are confident, will be a more real practical reliance on those ineffable illuminations from on high which come not through human ministrations; and not less confident are we that another fruit will be the loving self-sacrifice without which the Church cannot be one, and cannot, therefore, bear a full and unanswerable testimony for the Saviour to the world. We are looking for the time when the noblest examples we have had of Christian excellence will be transcended by the ordinary style of Christians, as the stars that owe their solitary brilliance to the surrounding darkness are absorbed in the light that fills the whole field of vision.



ART. VII.—*Voluntaryism in England and Wales; or, the Census of 1851.* Published by the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control. 1854. pp. 112. 8vo.

PARLIAMENT has met, and our friends in the House must soon be maturing their plans for the session. Dissenters now occupy an advanced position, bringing with it duties and modes of action to which they have hitherto been strangers. We are a party in the House. What was once reproached as political dissent is now acknowledged as dissenting politics. We wish, with a view to this new position, to make some general observations of a practical kind, which may help in maturing our policy. A policy of some kind it is clear we must have. To show this we need only address ourselves to such of our readers as may be inclined to think enough has been done for the present, and to counsel the advisableness of 'letting well alone.' We are assured of their cordial concurrence in asserting that they are not prepared to go back. They will not give up anything. They are as desirous as any to maintain a position in the House and before the country, which shall be sufficient to stop any counter-movement against the voluntary principle as it now stands recognised. Having for the first time, at the last general election, placed a body of members in the House of Commons, the bulk of those members are not to be turned out again at the next. Being intended to remain there, they are to be upholden in the position and the weight they have won for themselves. Assuming that they are not, during this session, or the next, or the next after, to make a single movement in advance, they are to be ready, and they are to be understood to be ready, at all times to hold their own.

Now *we* wish for more; but we frankly avow that, if while the war lasts we can accomplish so much as is here indicated, and really hold our own, we shall certainly not feel dissatisfied. We are, at all events, clear that if the advantages which all of us desire to contend for at the proper time are to be really won, all that we are now anxious about must be attended to on the mere principle of self-defence. We cannot lay down our arms. A session in the House of Commons can no more pass without the constant need of protecting our position than without the army and navy estimates. The prestige of the last session rests with us, but our attacks and our successes have all been made and won in self-defence. In a former article on this subject\* we limited ourselves to showing that the Cabinet were

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\* The Coalition Government and the Dissenters. May, 1851.

not our friends. Add to this the consideration of the numerous interests all intent on pushing their claims in the teeth of our very principle, and it will be seen how inevitably, and on all sides, we are exposed to active hostility. The Oxford bill, for instance, as at first brought on, ignored our existence. A hundred members memorialized Lord John Russell, and were told they must act for themselves. The Dissenters then took action. Their first step was to ask the House to recognise their interest in Oxford, by the appointment of a select committee; and upon this also being refused, they then undoubtedly girded up their loins, and took bodily possession. Every one now acknowledges that, if the bill had become law in the shape in which it was first introduced (how extraordinary it now seems that such a proposal should, in sober faith, have been made to us!), dissent would have received a positive injury. The bill was an attack on dissent, and would, by a side wind, and without a blow struck, have deprived us of all the advantages gained at so much cost in 1835.

Take again the case of church-rates. Practically speaking, church-rates *are* abolished in the north, and are *being* abolished in the south. The only course now open is to abolish them altogether, and if any substitute is necessary, it must be derived from an improved management of church property. On both points we were assailed. Lord Blandford insisted, in spite of urgent remonstrances, in retaining in his Episcopal and Capitular Estates Bill a clause—wholly unnecessary to its professed object—precluding the proposed application of the improved revenues. Mr. Packe's Church-rate Extension and Perpetuation Bill was slurred over at the time, but it is now reproduced with worse features, and, as is understood, under high sanction, in the 'Edinburgh Review.' Church-rates are to be henceforth exacted all over the kingdom; Dissenters are to be ticketed and turned out of vestry; the old common-law rights of the vestry itself are to be abolished, and the whole power lodged with a church surveyor and a county magistracy. Is it not time to bestir ourselves? Sir W. Clay's bill was lost last session by an unwonted combination of faint-heartedness and treachery. For the sake of one clause only let it not be so lost again;—'From and after the date of the passing of this act, no church-rate shall be made or levied in any parish in England or Wales.'

Such questions, again, as Maynooth, the Irish Regium Donum and Belfast Professorships, Church Removal and Burial Board Bills, Ecclesiastical Commissions, Church Building Acts, Australian Constitutions, and as many more twice counted, are not merely in their principle, but in their form of presentment, a perpetual guerilla war. They never come in a shape in which

we can stand neutral. We must in every case either assert or abandon our principles; under penalty, if we are once caught napping, of establishing a 'precedent,' to which the House is never more willing to allow the appeal than when Voluntaries have established it against themselves. The Maynooth grant, for instance, is defended as a compact: settled, we are told, by act of parliament. If it be, it is settled all one way, for last session it was only Mr. Spooner's vigilance that defeated an additional estimate. The Irish Regium Donum again is not, like the defunct English grant, a fixed sum of a few hundreds: it has begged itself up from £1200 to £38,000, and is still asking for more. The vote of the House is taken every year upon this question of increase. We must either accede to or refuse it: and unless we refuse it, we are ourselves active parties to carrying the principle of the grant farther than it has yet been pushed. And this is not all. The estimate has long been suspected. It is now known to be tainted with fraud. At least £5000 a-year of the £38,000 is obtained without even the pretence of fulfilling the conditions. To the extent of £14,000 a-year, the fulfilment alleged would be set down by common-sense people as sheer evasion. There is no evidence to satisfy men of business that the conditions are in any case fulfilled, except for the single year in which the grant is first made to a new congregation—the congregation itself perhaps being only formed for the sake of obtaining it. Can Voluntaries without impeachment acquiesce in a grant at which honest men must feel their ears tingle?

And so of the rest. We might exceed our limits on this point alone. There is enough to do, even if we do not look to advancing a step. There needs all through the session, from the first day to the last, an unfailing watch on the part of all our dissenting members merely to hold our own.

We are happy to know that this watch is maintained. We believe there is now no offensive movement which can avoid an encounter with a perfectly well-informed opposition. Our friends in the House are united, vigilant, and active; and in addition to their own numbers, they have begun to command the support of a still larger body not belonging to their ranks. Last May, we reckoned them at from 80 to 100. They now form altogether a party numbering not less ordinarily than a third of the House, and in pitched battles they have counted more.

Now, how is this position to be made secure? On this point we confess to no small surprise at the currency of notions which we should have supposed impossible, even among the most uninquiring. We have heard the events of the late session attributed by intelligent men simply to the *progress of liberal opinion*, and have seen the facts regarded as so clearly speaking



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for themselves to this effect, that any appearance of doubt upon it is put down to cynicism. As *we know* that our successes were brought about by very different causes, and that there would be nothing so sure to undo all that we have done as a reliance only on the progress of liberal opinion, we are anxious to do our best to correct the error.

To suppose that the dissenting members in the House can maintain their ground there, unbacked from without, is an imagination which a single week in the lobby would be enough to dissipate. Consider what they have to do. To have weight in the House, it is obvious that they must not only know all that is going on, but they must exercise a judgment very distinctly independent of the government 'tellers' as to what is to be done in respect of it. The bills, reports, petitions, notices, whips, &c. &c., which every morning lays upon their breakfast-table in a profusion as inexhaustible and various as are the condiments of the meal itself, must be to them matters of actual information. Either by themselves, or by others for them, the facts must be got at and made ready for use, as required from day to day. As to doing it themselves, or among themselves, the thing is simply out of the question. We should judge that if all the 658 members were to resolve themselves into from fifty to one hundred small committees, for the purpose of conscientiously analyzing the pith of all the printed communications received daily by every one of them, they—well, they might do something for the delectation of posterity. The task is hopeless. Members of parliament, like other men of business, read only what they are obliged; and they are obliged to read nothing which is not brought specially under their notice. All the rest, and too much of that, goes into the waste-paper basket. To insure one vote from one member on one question, may well involve a week's time and a month's anxiety on the part of any who will try. And if this be so, let it be remembered that *our* task is something infinitely more serious. It is difficult to estimate it on any calculation of proportions with the case we are supposing. In that case, there need not be unusual, or even usual difficulties. The claim may be just and simple; the member honest, intelligent, and active; no party engagements may interfere; and there shall still be the labour and anxiety we have suggested in securing his actual vote. What, then, must it be to gain and keep the votes of between two and three hundred members, not on one question only, but, as the result has shown, on half the divisions of a session—questions of every shade of importance, and arising under every possible contingency as to previous announcement—the members thus kept together being all, no doubt, to a certain extent, practically reliable, but having



no sort of community in their grounds of action, and each one of them, moreover, daily subject to the delicately shaded influences of an acknowledged master of the art, in whose very touch there seems to lurk fascination? Will it not be said, that to secure from such a body an undeviating support to an advanced policy of mere principle, and to win for it, by their instrumentality, a signal success, in spite of the opposition of the cabinet, and the avowed wishes of the majority on both sides of the House, demands an organization powerful in the united support of all the leading minds in the metropolis and the provinces. We do not understand that the Liberation of Religion Society is generally considered to have received support quite of this character, but the work we have described is pretty much what it actually did last session.

It is unfortunately impossible for us adequately to possess our readers of our grounds for this assertion, inasmuch as we cannot here detail the entire ecclesiastical history of the late session. We will, however, do the best of which our limits allow. In the first place, it will be remembered that the bills, notices, and general parliamentary papers of which we have spoken are not (so far, at least, as the House of Commons is concerned) confined to members, but are obtainable at a small cost by any who choose to apply for them. All public bodies, therefore, have the means of knowing day by day and week by week all that is going forward in the legislature, and their power to affect the result depends entirely upon the manner in which they avail themselves of this knowledge. It may be of no more worth to them than, we have seen, it is to any unassisted member of parliament: skilfully used, and in the hands of a body in possession of independent force, it is a power by which any result may be obtained. To those of our readers who may not be personally conversant with these matters, it may be of use to explain that the notice-papers (which are the most important) consist of two sets, one of which is issued daily, and the other every Saturday. The first informs the members and the public of all that has been done in the House on the day preceding, and all that is down in the order-book for the day on which it is laid on his breakfast-table. It usually extends to a printed sheet (or perhaps two) of foolscap, and a sufficient acquaintance with its contents is consequently the work of a few minutes. The weekly notice is considerably more voluminous; and is in fact not to be fully understood without knowledge from other sources of the business to which it relates. It gives notice of every question, motion, bill, or amendment to be put or proposed by any member during the ensuing week. It states them simply in the terms in which they appear on the notice-paper, leaving the members to obtain

any necessary explanation from their own knowledge of the subject.

Assuming, now, that these sources of information have been turned to the best account by the Liberation Society, its next point is to act upon them with the most effect. Among other things to which we have just alluded, we named the 'whip.' This is a somewhat inexplicable, yet very well understood and effective instrument. It is a document signed by nobody, emanating from nowhere, and relating to nothing. It conveys no hint of what is to take place, but by some species of freemasonry which we have never entirely apprehended, it leads the members addressed to find themselves at the right moment in the Government or Opposition division lobby, as the case may be. It is known by them that the whip must have the sanction of the party-leader; and though in many cases it is probably not known till afterwards what it is all about, this suffices. When the Liberation Society began its parliamentary operations, the Dissenting M.P.'s were so far from having a leader, that they could hardly be called a party. There was nothing for it, therefore, but for the Society to adopt the suggestion of some influential members—establish a whip of its own. It was an extraordinary piece of impertinence, to be sure. On particular questions it is not uncommon—instances of it happen every session—for parties interested to send round circulars to members on whom they think they may rely, setting forth in eloquent indignation the wrongs they suffer, and humbly asking assistance in the emergency. This was all very well; but for a party out of doors to practice the thing systematically, and in a form betraying perfect acquaintance with the usages of the House and the habits of members individually, and while perfectly respectful, not betraying any consciousness at all that they were asking a very great favour, was something quite unknown to any theory of the Constitution.

But the thing took. Our Dissenting friends were well pleased to find themselves gathering together in the House and in the lobby with a regularity to which they had been strangers. Church members, who had never understood Anti-State-Churchism in the abstract, were not displeased to find themselves doing the same thing. Thorough men of business, having no particular love for us, perhaps, nevertheless saw what was coming, and prepared themselves, out of respect sometimes for Dissenting constituencies, for this new element in party tactics. But there were other members who viewed it with sore discomposure. Not a few government subordinates were driven by it to make an election between their superiors and their constituents, for which they will no doubt be able to account, better or worse,

as the case may be, at the next general election. There are also about 100 members,—rather above that number, we think, than otherwise,—who up to last session had best suited their inclinations or convenience by not voting on ecclesiastical questions. Besides all these, there is a class of members, not very numerous and not very influential, but which certainly ought not to be overlooked in this enumeration: they are in general of high blood and breeding, and they discharge with fidelity a task which they do not desire. They do not like the House nor the requirements of party. They have always regarded both with those feelings of aversion naturally due to what ‘Punch’ appropriately designates on their behalf as a ‘horrid baw,’ and have only allowed themselves to be elected on an understanding with ‘Haytaw’ that they were never to be summoned until the government were driven to contemplate a dissolution. They had ‘got in’ more or less easily, and having got in, they had done their duty, and it would be a most unprincipled thing to call upon them for anything more. It would: but there was one body of some slight importance who were not parties to the compact. Just at the time when the Liberation ‘whips’ were getting into full play, the constituents of these and of many other honourable gentlemen were infected apparently with quite new notions of their relations with their representative. To say nothing of petitions, every post brought all sorts of hints, queries, suggestions, and sometimes positively information of what was going on in the House. It was of no use not to notice these communications: they were too business-like, and the writers too influential. The only thing was to put them off with sympathetic replies and contingent promises. In a general way this is successful, as gentlemen who will resort to these evasions are their own prophets, and can regulate their own contingencies. In this case it failed utterly. The members thus acting found themselves receiving in reply cordial thanks for their sympathy, and full information as to the contingencies they had suggested.

The result was, that even on Sir W. Clay’s second division, two out of three of the government ‘tellers’ sat still, absolutely checkmated, on the Treasury bench; and but for the obstinate disbelief of some of our friends in the possibility of so daring a policy succeeding, a Church Rate Abolition bill would not only have been introduced for the first time in the history of Parliament, but would have been carried through a second reading. The absent Anti-Church-rate votes were about twice the number of the government majority. On Mr. Heywood’s clauses the effect was still more marked: Forty Conservative members, following Lord Stanley into the Dissenters’ lobby, neutralized the whole force of the cabinet and its immediate satellites, and



found themselves only adding to a majority already larger than their own contingent. We were not present when the numbers were declared. The scene is described to us as having rivalled the most exciting moments of the Reform bill era. Even Lord John Russell's 'pluck' gave way. The Dissenters had passed at a bound the point reached in 1815, and were now to share in the actual government as well as in the titular honours of the University of Oxford. At this crisis Mr. Walpole rendered a service to his party, which may well cover a larger multitude of deficiencies than its exigencies have ever attributed to his official career. For the moment he recovered the position. It was instantly disputed by Mr. Bright, and a postponed discussion allowed of negotiations being initiated by friends of the whig chiefs. It was too late now for the grace of concession; and the cabinet, at length reduced to accept Mr. Heywood's terms, taken avowedly as a first instalment, were only too glad to hurry the measure through the Lords, while a bill which did no more was still possible.

It is no breach of confidence to speak now of the first meetings of a few members of Parliament and others, at which the course to be taken respecting the Oxford bill was discussed. It was agreed on all hands, that to allow the occasion to pass by without some distinct assertion of the claims of the Dissenters was impossible, if only as a matter of self-respect. But the opinion was also equally clear, that no actual advantage could result. 'It will be done,' said a member, who we trust will live to disprove more than this prophesy,—'it will be done some time or other, there is no doubt of that: but you and I shall not live to see it.' Fifty or sixty petitions, it was said, not numerously signed, but having a few names of known respectability, would answer all purposes. No great hope was entertained of obtaining so many, but it was thought likely to have a good effect upon the House if they could be had. It would make the movement quite respectable, and give a position to be used at some future time. We believe we run no risk of contradiction in saying, that it is due entirely to the courage of the Liberation Society, in resolving to conduct the movement on its own responsibility, on the principle of going in to win, that we are not now sitting down contented with no better result. Within a fortnight about 4000 circulars, containing forms of petition and the members' Memorial to Lord John Russell, had been forwarded to nearly every Baptist, Independent, and Unitarian minister in England and Wales. Communications were at the same time opened with the Congregational and Baptist Unions, a stream of private letters was poured continuously into every borough and leading county town where any influential

liberal (Dissenter or Churchman) could be found likely to get up petitions, write to representatives, or influence the local press. 'Dod's Facts' were brought to bear, revised by 'Mann's Statistics.' We should say that there was probably no locality at all available, in which a batch of Dissenters were not informed of and induced to use some precise mode of attack which they had specially in their power. The effect was a surprise upon the House, and led soon to an improved policy. Mr. Heywood, in concurrence with our friends, but against the strenuous opposition of some aristocratic whigs, restored his abandoned notice of a motion to refer the bill to a select committee; avowedly to supply the omission of the first inquiry, by bringing forward the claims of the Dissenters. The motion was lost, as was expected, but there can be no doubt that the alarm which it created among all members who had dissenting constituents contributed powerfully to the eventual majority.

Now this must be kept up. If it be not, church-rates will be extended and perpetuated, the abolition of Maynooth will only give new strength to a false principle, Irish presbyterianism will continue its fraudulent receipt of the public money, and the Australian colonies will have thrust upon them an establishment. These are the aggressions of which we are forewarned, and against which we shall have quite enough to do to defend ourselves. We are fully alive to the claims upon our gratitude on the part of other bodies, when we state our conviction that the means of success are to be sought for in strengthening as much as possible the hands of the Liberation of Religion Society. All other organizations are either formed upon a basis not admitting of universal co-operation, or are restricted to objects insufficient for our purpose. There is no reason why they should not all work in their several spheres concurrently with, while independently of, this Society. They can neither take its ground, nor its theirs. The common cause of all will be promoted: the special objects of each will in no wise be retarded.

The Society is much better supported than formerly. It is reaping the reward of success achieved, and of an evident desire to meet all fair objections to its constitution or plans of operation, in a large extent of new ground broken up, and in some adhesions which were rather hoped than looked for. It has made way in the House by the evidence of its hold on the country, and it has gained faster hold on the country by the way which it has made in the House. We would willingly accept the judgment of the first M.P. of any knowledge of affairs who might be asked it, as to the respect which it has won on all sides for its efficiency in doing the work it purposes, and its skill in proposing the work to be done. Thus far, indeed, we should say that it has reversed

its old position, and has become stronger in the House than in the country. Members are sensitively alive to the possible powers of any organization in active service. They are conscious that the apparent results, in the action, for instance, of their constituents, are so certain not to be in excess of the reality, and may bear so small a proportion to it, that if anything, they are only too ready to act at the first hint. There is, indeed, always some danger in the case of a body charged with a prolonged movement, that a reactionary feeling may in course of time arise in the minds of members, undervaluing its real power in proportion as in their first haste they attributed to it possibly too much. This is obviated—when it is obviated—by the constant acquisition of new alliances from those who really feel indebted for what it has done, and desire it to be maintained in permanent efficiency. Such was the fortune of the League, such should be of the Liberation of Religion Society. To the old Anti-State-Church Association there were objections; but surely all that reasonable men could think of has been done to meet them. It has abandoned its name; it has expunged the formula of its principle; it employs new modes of operation. What more can be said?

We were not surprised that a matter which was so much one of feeling as the change of name should involve animated discussion; but except for the determination to conciliate which the success of the proposal evidenced, we have always for ourselves attached more importance to either of the other changes. The expungement of the principle we regard as emphatically right. Its language implied a test which excluded from the Society precisely those to whom its success was most important, while it proposed to unite the evangelical and non-evangelical Dissenter upon the basis of a formula by which neither of them could understand the other to mean strictly the same thing with himself. How impossible it must be to frame a principle for such a society which shall fully satisfy the evangelical Christian without involving the essence of a test, will be acknowledged by any who have made the attempt. The truth is, that a society which proposes results, cannot be limited by sympathies. All that can be required from its members is an agreement in the precise thing intended to be done. The business of the Liberation of Religion Society, whatever the desires of its members individually, is to effect the repeal of certain acts of parliament, and the discontinuance of certain grants; and until time suits for this, to see to it that there be no more acts of parliament to repeal, and no more grants to discontinue. It is not because all who honestly desire to effect the same thing, and are able and willing to aid efficiently in promoting it, may not act precisely on the same principle, or from the same motive with ourselves, that we are to



adjudicate upon their consciences and repudiate their alliance. The Society is now a political organization, but it is one which men are little likely to join who have not deep impressions of the sanctity of religion. In saying this, we are not theorists. By whomsoever its efforts have been supported or opposed, there is one party which has always stood aloof. Thoroughly committed against the principle of a religious establishment, there are none of whom the Church stands in so little fear as the philosophical radicals. They hate the Church much, but they hate religion more. Religion in earnest they identify with proselytism, proselytism with tyranny, and tyranny with dissent: and in spite of all their intelligent and not pleased perception of the injustice of an establishment, they are yet willing to let it alone, if not positively to uphold it, as the best bulwark the times admit of against too much religion. They would establish all religions if they could; the more the merrier; but this being impossible, they keep to that they have as the safest course for preserving any. Not with our good-will should any conscientious moderate dissenter run the risk—in standing aloof, like these, from all active effort for carrying out an acknowledged principle—of being by any means identified with a class which we loathe with our whole soul.

The immediate duty of the Society is to act upon parliament. Of the means which it has at its disposal for doing so effectually we have already said quite as much as is prudent. Others, which will suggest themselves readily to those who remember something of the tactics of former organizations, we are in a condition to assure our readers have not been forgotten. We will now, however, take the opportunity of observing—the more especially as in some possible contingencies it may be needful to repeat the petitioning movement then set on foot—that nothing can well be more erroneous than the supposition that petitions are not worth the trouble they undoubtedly occasion. It is sometimes represented by writers who should know better as if a member presenting a petition just read something written for him on the back of it in an unintelligible tone to the House, and the petition was thereupon laid on the table, thrust into a bag, carried out by the clerk, and no more heard of. This is all very well as a joke, but every one who has to do with these things knows that the facts are quite otherwise. Mr. Heywood's clauses in the Oxford bill may be safely said to have been carried by petitions. Other influences (to which we have alluded) were brought to bear at a later stage; but the effect upon the House of the early influx of petitions, numbering about eight or nine times as many as had been stipulated, was so marked that competent judges foretold success long before the Liberation of Religion

Society had emptied its quiver. It was due partly to the character of the signatures, with which the members presenting them were of course generally acquainted, and not less to the variety which was observable in the petitions themselves. Almost every petition which is 'not a form' (i. e., which has anything distinctive in its statement) is printed and circulated, and to a considerable extent *read* among the members generally. So much is this the case, that, to throw out a hint for future use, if church-rate petitions should again be wanted, their value would at least be doubled by the insertion of statements respecting the condition of matters in the locality from which they are sent up. Accounts of recent contests, or the fact that there are no such things as rates in the parish; how the church is maintained in repair, and how long it has been so, will go far to ensure Sir W. Clay's majority on the second reading of his bill.

Let it not, however, be supposed that this is all that is done by the Society. No one can study the statistics of Mr. Mann's report without perceiving in it materials far more directly available than as the somewhat ponderous verification of an abstract principle. The volume named at the head of this Article, while it exhibits the strength of Christian willinghood in a necessarily clearer light than was open to official compilers, ought also to be in the hands of every nonconformist elector who wishes to gauge the precise strength of voluntaryism as a political power in his own county. It will not afford complete information, but it will infallibly indicate the points of inquiry, to be carried out on the spot. Preparations are already being made in this direction by the Liberation Society to ensure our holding our own not only in this but in a future parliament. But the results must depend on the resources; and we need not point out how essential it is to success in this department of its labours that the Society should receive adequate and early support. It has now become certain that the income of former years will be at least doubled for the next three; but we trust the Executive Committee will not bate a jot of the guaranteed £5000 for which it has made its appeal, and every shilling of which is required.

It is obvious that, at present, power is being wasted for want of an assured position. The energy expended does not produce the full results towards which it is directed, and other results of which it is capable are unavoidably put aside. At this moment the influence which the Society has acquired is forcing upon it, by applications becoming continually more frequent, an initiative in electoral as well as parliamentary action, of which it has no adequate resources to take the advantage. We are not sure that actual loss has not been occasioned: we are sure that possible gains have not been secured. Even in what the society has effected

there has been necessarily a waste of valuable exertion. The Church-rate and University petitions were the result of something like 12,000 circulars, independently of probably another thousand personal appeals, specially addressed to selected individuals. As things are, not one of these could safely have been omitted; nor can they be, should petitions again be required during the forthcoming campaign. It is certain that a large number will be fruitless; but it is not certain of any one that it will not succeed, and were things as they ought to be, every distinct circular ought to produce its separate crop of petitions. For the simple fact is, that there was not (according to all reasonable calculation) a single person to whom they were addressed who was not committed to the principle, interested in its success, and possessed of a definite sphere of influence in its behalf. Yet the knowledge on the part of the Executive that the great majority of their applications were experimental, and that to ensure a modicum of success, a war of extermination must be carried on against the waste-paper basket—that universal devourer of all printed, and of most written communications—largely withdrew their attention from operations which would have told effectually upon the aggregate result. To overcome this obstacle must necessarily be a work of time; but the period will be accelerated and the results enlarged by an amount of aid so small on the part of each, that we may almost characterize it as the *absence of inaction*. Something more, no doubt, is necessary when an actual petition is to be forwarded or an actual election to be won. But the most severe of these labours would be undertaken in any event; the only difference would be that, by a pre-existing connexion with the Society, they would more often be attended with a reasonable probability of success.

Should there be any of our readers, secretly even to themselves, unsatisfied as to the principle at stake, we refer them for a short settlement of the question, to the half-crown pamphlet on the Census lately published by the Society. In an argument based upon that portion of Mr. Mann's statistics which the Bishop of Oxford accepts—that, namely, which relates to *sittings* as opposed to *attendances*,—it affords a contrast between the establishmentarian and the voluntary principles, as both being at work in the episcopalian denomination itself, and also as at work respectively in that denomination and in those of the other Christian sects which are substantially at one with it in doctrine. The result deduced is beyond cavil or misapprehension. In all England and Wales, and in every county individually tables constructed from Mr. Mann's show that the establishment has given way, and voluntary effort taken its place. Even where the one has done most, the other has done more; where it has



done nothing, as in Huntingdonshire, the other has supplied nearly the whole deficiency, in addition to its own natural quota. In fifty years seventy per cent. of the descendants of the old church population have left the doors within which their fathers worshipped for those of other denominations; and of the remainder, a large portion have been regained during the last twenty years of the half century by voluntary effort set on foot within the church itself. The facts of which these are a sample, the reader will find presented in divers forms, and verified by several tests in this volume. If their truth is commended to his judgment, let him join with us in dethroning a principle so weak for good, so powerful for ill.

### Brief Notices.

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*Louisa von Plettenhaus; the Journal of a Poor Young Lady.* Translated from the German. Fcap. Svo. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.—A bewitching tale, which both old and young may read with advantage and pleasure. Purity of sentiment and the tenderest affections are combined in a narrative of considerable interest, which is made subservient to the best interests of morality and religion.

*Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D., L.L.D. Vol. II. Post Svo. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.—The second volume of a cheap issue of the select works of Dr. Chalmers, which concludes his Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. We cannot too strongly recommend this edition to that numerous class of readers whose circumstances prevent the purchase of its larger and more costly predecessor.

*Partnership with Limited Liability.* Reprinted with Additions from the 'Westminster Review' for October, 1853. 12mo. pp. 63. London: John Chapman.—A pamphlet which deserves the attentive consideration of our statesmen, advocating a change well suited to advance the interests of

commerce, and which must sooner or later be adopted.

*Statistical Tables of Population, Mortality, Food, and Clothing: Politics, Finance, Taxation, and Currency: Crime and Punishment: Mineral Produce, Commerce, Shipping, Emigration, &c.* Compiled from Parliamentary and other authentic Documents. By T. G. Darton. Svo. pp. 36. London: Longman & Co.—This is a reprint from the fourth edition of Mr. McCulloch's 'Descriptive and Statistical Account of the British Empire,' and will be found invaluable for reference on various points of commanding interest.

*The Scripture Pocket-Book for 1855.* Containing an Almanack; also, a passage of Scripture for every day; with an arrangement by which the Bible may be read in the course of the year, and a variety of useful information. London: The Religious Tract Society.—A pocket companion, which unites the useful and the instructive in a very unwonted degree.

*Ephemeris; or, Leaves from ye Journall of Marian Drayton.* Imprinted in London for Robert and George Seeley.—We are no great admirers of the modern-antique, yet we are disposed

to make an exception in favor of the present work, which purports to have been written during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. The style is not a bad imitation of that of the times described, though occasional lapses may be discovered. The persecutions of Mary's unhappy reign are illustrated in a tone of simple and tender narrative, which readily makes its way to the heart of an intelligent reader.

*Selections Grave and Gay from Writings Published and Unpublished* by Thomas De Quincey. Edinburgh: James Hogg.—The fourth volume of a series which promises to be one of the richest and most entertaining in our language. In our journal for October last we recorded, at some length, our judgment on the qualities of Mr. De Quincey as a writer, and shall, therefore, content ourselves now with reporting that the present volume contains five papers, the titles of which will sufficiently indicate their range and variety. These titles are,—‘Murder considered as one of the Fine Arts,’ ‘Revolt of the Tartars,’ ‘Dialogues of Three Templars on Political Economy,’ ‘On War,’ and ‘The English Mail Coach.’ There is a freshness and affluence and fulness of life throughout these papers which cannot fail very deeply to interest an intelligent reader, notwithstanding the necessity he may feel to differ from some of the views expressed.

*Selections from the Writings of the Rev. Sydney Smith.* Parts III. and IV. London: Longman & Co.—Two numbers of the ‘Traveller’s Library,’ which complete the selections contemplated from the writings of one of the most vigorous and sparkling writers of the last generation. Whilst regretting many things which Sydney Smith penned, we never tire over his writings. The qualities they evince are so happily combined as to minister largely both to the entertainment and the instruction of the reader.

*The Collected Works of Dugald Stewart, Esq., F.R.S.S.*—Edited by Sir W. Hamilton, Bart. Vol. IV. 8vo. pp. 422. Edinburgh: Thomas Con-

stable & Co.—This fourth volume of the complete edition of the works of Dugald Stewart is the third and last of the ‘Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind.’ It is printed in beautiful style, and leaves nothing to be desired by the admirers of Professor Stewart. The rapid appearance of these volumes is a matter of congratulation, and we wait with intense expectation for the appearance of the ‘Biographical Memoir’ which Sir W. Hamilton is to furnish. His distinguished position pre-eminently qualifies him for so delicate and difficult a work.

*Tales of the Desert and the Bush.* From the German of Friedrich Gerstäcker. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable & Co.—Some months since we noticed a volume of this author’s travels, forming the first of ‘Nelson’s Modern Library,’ and the terms in which we spoke of it are applicable, with slight variation, to the present work. We have rarely met with a book which supplies, within such limits, so much entertaining and unexceptionable reading. It contains, in addition to several letters from emigrants, six tales, most of which have their scenery in America, and are illustrative of Indian or Negro life. They are written in an unpretentious and very fascinating style, and throw considerable light on the anomalous state of society in the New World. The volume may be placed, without hesitation, in the hands of young people, whilst those who are more advanced in years, and are in consequence somewhat less imaginative in their temperament, will find it difficult to close it until the end of the volume is attained. It would be an advantage if some slight sketch of the author, and of the circumstances under which the work was composed, had been prefixed. A similar omission existed in the volume published by the Messrs. Nelson, and we shall be glad to find that such notice is supplied in the ‘Miscellany of Foreign Literature.’ English readers look for information of this kind, and publishers will do well to meet so reasonable a requirement.

*The Table Talk of John Selden.* With Notes by David Irving, LL.D. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 247.—It is needless to dilate on the learning of Selden. In an age of learned men he was the most conspicuous. The fact is universally admitted, and is proved by the various works which bear his name. He was born on the 16th of December, 1584, and died on the 30th November, 1654. His 'Table Talk' was published by his amanuensis, Richard Milward, in 1689, who tells us in his dedication, that 'lest all those excellent things which usually fell from him might be lost, some of them from time to time I faithfully committed to writing.' Several editions of the work have been printed, and in 1819 Dr. Irving, Keeper of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, published one which, for correctness and elegance, was superior to all its predecessors. The present edition is an improvement on this. The notes have been enlarged and several corrupted passages have been amended from a manuscript discovered in the Advocates' Library. Dr. Irving is entitled to our best thanks for the care with which he has edited the work, and we shall be glad to find him performing a similar labor of love in the case of other works of equal value.

*Modern Household Cookery.* A New Work for Private Families: containing a Great Variety of Valuable Receipts, with Directions for the Preparation of Food for Invalids and for Children. By a Lady. Fcap. 8vo. pp. 396. London: T. Nelson & Son.—This volume is one of the best digests of modern cookery that has been given to the public for some time. The value of such a work will be evident if we consider that man, to live, must eat, and that at least three or four times a-day, and that by reference to the receipts of the volume before us, his meals may be pleasurable and, at the

same time, economically prepared. The directions for the food of children and invalids are excellent, and will be found exceedingly useful to the young housekeeper, mother, and nurse.

*Sacred Studies; or, Aids to the Development of Truth.* A Second and Enlarged Edition of Discourses on Important Subjects. By the Rev. Robert Ferguson, LL.D., F.S.A. London: Ward & Co. 1854.—Dr. Ferguson has greatly improved his former volume in this edition, not only by the change of title, but by the substitution, for two pastoral discourses, of the admirable discourses on 'The Benevolence of Christianity,' and 'The Centre of the Whole Moral Universe of God.' 'The work,' as he says, 'has thus more of unity in its subjects and its arrangement.' We are so much instructed by its luminous teaching, and delighted with its elaborate and richly adorned yet chaste composition, that we gladly commend it to the thoughtful student of revealed truth.

*The Journal of Sacred Literature.* New Series. Edited by the Rev. H. Burgess, LL.D., Ph.D., Member of the Royal Society of Literature. No. XIII. October, 1854. London: Blackader & Co.—We observe in the latest numbers of this periodical that it keeps up its character. The papers have various merits, and correspond with the professions of the editor. We should be glad to see it more exclusively devoted to the discussion of questions not taken up in other reviews and magazines, instead of reviewing at such length works like that of Dr. Milman on 'The History of Latin Christianity.' As there is really no other publication in which strictly Biblical discussions and correspondence find place, we think it would be an improvement in the journal to confine itself to this department of literature.



## Review of the Month.

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PARLIAMENT MET FOR THE DESPATCH OF BUSINESS ON THE 12TH. A graceful concession was thus made to popular feeling, while regard was shown to the obvious requirements of the public service. Nothing is more common than to speak of a 'crisis' having arisen. The term is often used, and sometimes very thoughtlessly. It has frequently been the rallying cry of faction, and has been prostituted to nefarious purposes. In the present case, however, its use is clearly justified. We are embarked in an arduous struggle; our first anticipations have been disappointed; and the dogged resolution of the English character is supplanting the sanguine expectations recently cherished. Every one feels that our resources are to be taxed to the utmost, and the national mind is resolved on the sacrifice, whatever be its extent, which may be needed to success. Our gallant countrymen are suffering unwonted hardships in the Crimea; and the rapid concentration of Russian forces on the theatre of war, has shown that we greatly underrated the power of the Czar. Under these circumstances it is not unnatural that some degree of uneasiness should prevail. There is no misgiving, no apprehension of ultimate defeat, no regretful feeling at the past, unless it be that greater earnestness and more considerate forethought have not been evinced. The political opponents of the Cabinet have, no doubt, done their utmost to damage it. Whilst professing much solicitude to carry on the war with vigor, no opportunity has been lost of charging the Ministry with shortsightedness, irresolution, and even treachery. The opposition journals have talked of divisions in the Cabinet, and have not hesitated to allege against some of its leading members an unpatriotic and criminal regard to the interests of Russia. In the language of bitter invective they have given utterance to the selfish disappointment of their leaders, and have taunted the ministry with unwillingness to meet the national representatives. They have called for an early assembling of Parliament, and have at the same time avowed their conviction that Lord Aberdeen and his associates dared not venture on such a step. To these invectives the best reply has been rendered. Parliament has been summoned some months earlier than usual; and the Queen has asked the counsel of her subjects on the measures which are required 'to prosecute the great war in which we are engaged with the utmost vigor and effect.' This is as it should be. Ministers have done wisely in this bold and decided policy, and we doubt not, whatever taunts opposition speakers may throw out, that they will be rewarded by the generous confidence of a sympathizing nation. In common with a large portion of the British people we abominate war. The military spirit is, in our judgment, adverse to that of Christianity, and inimical therefore to the social interests of a people. Still there are cases in which war is unavoidable. It is a great evil, and as such we submit to it; but there are greater, to avoid which we reluctantly incur the less. We believed in our conscience that, sooner or later, war with Russia was inevitable. As long as it was possible, with any semblance of self-respect, Lord Aberdeen

shrunk from its responsibilities ; but the reckless ambition of the Czar left him at length no alternative. Had England stood by and suffered the dismemberment of Turkey, war might have been averted for a season. In such case, however, it would only have been deferred. The time would have come when it must have been forced on our statesmen, and that too under circumstances far more hazardous and costly than those which now exist.

Such being our national condition, it was expected that a great onslaught would be made on the Ministry the first night of the session. With such an expectation we took up the newspapers of the 13th, and after an attentive examination of what occurred in both Houses, we are free to confess that the Ministry has come out of the struggle far better than we anticipated. The Duke of Newcastle in the Lords and Mr. Sidney Herbert in the Commons were the principal speakers on the Ministerial side.\* Their official position naturally gave them this prominence, and their exposition of the past conduct of the war has certainly corrected many prevalent misconceptions, disproved statements which have been industriously propagated on apparently good authority, and though not entirely exculpatory of the Government, has served to strengthen confidence in the future decision and sagacity of its measures. We are especially glad that the Duke of Newcastle, in his clear, manly, and on many points most satisfactory speech, ingenuously acknowledged that he was 'not about to make what might be called an out-and-out defence of the policy of the Government.' 'I am far too sensible,' said his grace, 'of my own shortcomings, and of the difficulties of administration to be prepared to say that everything that has been done has been done in the best possible way, or that no mistakes have occurred, or that, if we were now to begin again, on the 26th of March, with the knowledge and experience we have acquired, the same things exactly would be done in the same manner ; but, on the contrary, I can say that some things not done then would now be done, and some things done then would now be omitted.' We cannot, of course, enter into the details of the two speeches. It may however be remarked, that the Duke of Newcastle distinctly affirmed that the invasion of the Crimea was contemplated from the first, and that on the 29th of June, only one week from the siege of Silistria being raised, directions were forwarded to Lord Raglan to undertake the expedition. Large reinforcements were immediately forwarded with a view to this enterprise, and the whole number up to the close of the present year will exceed 53,000 men. In our ignorance of the Russian forces in the Crimea—an ignorance shared equally with our allies—the force sent on the expedition was unequal to the object contemplated. On this point there is now no difference of judgment, but it was ungenerous in Lord Derby and the other opposition leaders to taunt the Ministry with it, since, as the Duke of Newcastle remarked, 'there was not a voice in this House, or a voice in this country, which, although raised in depreciation of the acts of the Government, did not assert that our forces were sufficient to accomplish the object in view.' Lord Derby asserted that

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\* Mr. Sidney Herbert's Speech has been published separately by Murray, and should be read attentively.

the army was half-starved, but the War-Secretary denied this statement in the most explicit manner. 'I admit,' he said, 'that accidents have occurred; I admit that everything has not been perfect; but this I say—and I say it fearlessly—that no army was ever better fed than this army has been. I can confidently assert there has not been even a single day—unless it was the day when the first march from the place of disembarkation took place—when regular rations have not been supplied to the troops.' Referring to the difficulty of conveying the heavy artillery and stores, the duke informed the House that a complete railroad was about to be sent out; and that in order to secure the utmost efficiency in these works, the assistance of Messrs. Peto and Betts had been obtained. On proposing it to them, his grace informed their lordships that they replied—'Every exertion in our power shall be used—all our property which may be required, rails, engines, everything, shall be placed at your disposal. One condition alone we make;—that is, that we shall not derive one farthing of profit from this affair in any way.' They said, 'It shall not be undertaken as a contract; we will act as your agents, and do everything for you, sending to the Treasury the bills which under ordinary circumstances would come to us.' This is just what we should have anticipated. The generous patriotism of such men cordially placed at the service of their country whatever resources and skill they could command, at the same time that they declined all pecuniary advantage. In acting thus they evinced the same spirit which has pervaded all ranks with unexampled unanimity and earnestness.\*

In common with many others we deeply regret the course pursued on the subject of the present war by such men as Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Sturge. It is within our knowledge that the speeches of Mr. Cobden, in the early stages of the dispute, were hailed in

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\* We are grieved to learn that, in consequence of this engagement, Mr. Peto has found it necessary to retire from the representation of Norwich. An extract from his address to the electors of that city, which appeared in the newspapers of the 21st, will best explain the facts of the case:—'The Government,' he says, 'recently desired my advice and assistance in promoting the facility of transit in the Crimea, and I had no hesitation, with my partners, Mr. Brassey and Mr. Betts, in devoting to it our best energies, acting simply as agents on behalf of the Government, and without the slightest pecuniary profit or benefit to ourselves. In carrying out this arrangement, and during its continuance, I find that, by a strict interpretation of the act which incapacitates members of Parliament from being concerned in any contract or commission on behalf of the Government, I may have brought myself within the operation of its clauses, although I have not in any way infringed upon the true spirit or meaning of that law.' All classes of his countrymen will regret his retirement. The necessity for it is one of the incidents of a statute the general operation of which is beneficial. He might have evaded the statute by absenting himself from the House, but, as he gracefully remarks in his address, 'I feel that while such important questions are under consideration I should be wanting in duty to you by such a course.' He has, therefore, at once and wisely resolved on retirement. His absence from the House can only be brief. The circumstance which has led to it will greatly strengthen his hold on the sympathies of his countrymen, and will secure, we doubt not, at the earliest possible moment, his return to St. Stephen's. The private virtues and unblemished patriotism of such a man can be ill spared at the present moment.



the palace of the Czar, and contributed greatly to confirm him in the belief that the English people would never offer any effectual resistance to his designs on Turkey. Whilst, however, we differ *toto cælo* from these gentlemen, we feel bound to record our strong protest against the tyranny with which it is attempted to prevent the expression of their views. To those views they are fully entitled, and it would be the mere mockery of freedom to admit this right without conceding an analogous right to give their views utterance. There is much in the prevalent feeling of the majority which we deem unsound and threatening, and against which every advocate of free speech should firmly set himself. If the opinions advocated are incorrect—and such we believe them to be—let them be refuted; but let not an attempt be made to overawe honest men in the utterance of their convictions. Let truth and falsehood fairly grapple: ‘Who,’ as Milton once asked, ‘ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?’ Had we been at Manchester the other day, much as we differ from Mr. Bright, we should have been at his side in defence of his right, which every Englishman claims, to give free utterance to his convictions, however they may be opposed to those of the majority of his countrymen.

ON THE 13TH, LORD PALMERSTON MOVED FOR LEAVE TO BRING IN A BILL to enable her Majesty to accept offers of service by militia regiments in places out of the United Kingdom. The object of the measure is to enable the Government to withdraw the troops now serving at Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, and other places, if needed, and to substitute for them militia regiments. By this means it is intended to strengthen Lord Raglan’s force, without depriving the garrisons in question of competent defence. The propriety of the measure was admitted on all hands. Exception, of course, was taken to details. This was to be expected, but the radical features of the measure were unassailable. The bill, therefore, rapidly passed through the Commons, and was read a third time in the Lords on the 22nd. By this measure a considerable military force is placed at the disposal of Government, and from the character of the troops now doing garrison duty in the Mediterranean an important addition will thus be made to the English army in the Crimea.

ANOTHER MEASURE PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT HAS GIVEN RISE TO MUCH DISCUSSION, and is clearly more open to honorable exception. The Militia Bill was introduced in the Commons, but on the 14th, the Duke of Newcastle submitted a Bill to enable her Majesty to enlist foreigners, with a view of strengthening her military forces in the Crimea. The number proposed was 15,000, which was subsequently reduced to 10,000, and the necessity for the measure was grounded on the peaceful and commercial habits of our people, which prevent them, in the early stages of a war, from contending on equal terms with such a power as Russia. The duke, in introducing the measure, gave an historical sketch of the several statutes which had been passed in former years for a similar purpose. In 1794, the number of foreigners to be enlisted was limited to 5000. In 1804, this number was increased to 10,000, and subsequently it was augmented to 16,000. Such a proposition furnished

just the opportunity for which the Opposition looked. It was adapted to awaken some apprehension and distrust even amongst liberals; and it was hoped by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, that by a junction with such the policy of ministers might be embarrassed even if their power were not overthrown. The alleged unconstitutional character of the measure was therefore insisted on, and much danger was represented as attendant on it. Foreign soldiers, it was alleged, might be employed to the detriment of English liberty, and on the failure of other arguments insinuations were thrown out of the personal influence which had been employed to induce the ministerial adoption of the Bill, and of the family interests it was intended to subserve. For such insinuations we are satisfied there was no ground whatever, nor can we see the slightest force in the *constitutional* objection alleged against the measure, as it ultimately passed the Lords. That foreign troops should be employed in this country to maintain order and enforce the law is clearly open to this exception, though, considering the smallness of the force, we are very much disposed to coincide with Earl Grey in deeming it 'of almost inconceivably small weight.' We admit, however, the great importance of guarding against an evil precedent, and should, therefore, had the bill been open to this exception, have been inclined to deem it fatal. 'Now, however,' to use the words of Earl Grey—no very friendly judge, moreover—'when the keeping of foreign troops in this country was simply limited to the object of disciplining them and forming depôts for service abroad, when the Crown was entirely restricted from making any other use of these troops than that of engaging them in foreign service, this objection—*small as it was in the first instance*—was now gone altogether, and there was no further occasion for that vague language respecting injury to the constitution which had been made use of. He had often heard, both in that House and in the House of Commons, when there was some measure to which you wanted to give a bad name, that, if you had no very clear and tangible objection to the measure, you called it '*unconstitutional*.' A division took place in the Upper House on the 15th, when the motion was carried by 55 to 43. Having passed the Lords on the 18th, it was immediately introduced into the Lower House, and on the 19th, the second reading was carried by a majority of 39, the numbers being 241 for, and 202 against the measure. Both Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston spoke earnestly in its defence, thus discrediting the rumors of division which have been so industriously circulated. On the following day a debate occurred on the motion for going into committee, when Mr. Cobden avowed the opinion 'that the expedition to the Crimea is about the rashest of any of which an account is to be found in our annals.' The opposition to the measure succeeded in preventing any progress, but on the 21st the bill passed through committee, and on the 22nd was read a third time, by a majority of 173 against 135.

The measure is undoubtedly regarded with disfavor by a considerable portion of the community. Apart from the Opposition, whose policy is quite evident, many of the best friends of popular liberty have spoken or voted against it. That they have done so honestly we do not doubt, but after giving our best attention to the speeches of Messrs. Cobden and Bright, we cannot say that their objections have much

force with us. To the constitutional plea we have already adverted, nor do the others which have been advanced strengthen their position. These are partly military and partly moral; and though insisted on with considerable pertinacity, they are not in our judgment an adequate ground for hostility. Whatever may be thought of the past, the Government is now evidently straining every nerve to increase their forces in the Crimea, and we should deeply regret any successful opposition to a proposal which they deem essential to the vigorous carrying out of their plans. We should have been gratified if their proposal had been more specific, and more obviously indicative of what we deem the requirements of the case; but we do not feel on this account prepared to reject a measure the obvious tendency of which is to increase the military forces at their command. The youths of Germany are early trained to arms, but are not allowed to emigrate until they have attained the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven. From this class it is hoped to enlist a considerable body of men who may be prepared with very brief training for effective service in the Crimea. We should have preferred a *Polish* legion, but next to this we welcome the assistance of German recruits. Our countrymen in the Crimea will not spurn their aid. In previous wars they have rendered good service, and the presence of a large body of them in the Crimea will at once reanimate the spirits and diminish the overstrained labors of our soldiers.

AN IMPORTANT THOUGH BRIEF DISCUSSION TOOK PLACE IN THE UPPER HOUSE ON THE 19TH, in answer to a question addressed to the Premier by the Duke of Grafton, 'whether it was the intention of her Majesty to appoint some especial day to be kept holy for the purpose of returning thanks to God for his Divine protection during the prosecution of the war, or whether it was the intention of her Majesty to order an especial service on some Sabbath-day for the same purpose.' The readers of the 'Eclectic' will be at no loss to divine our views on such a subject. They have been frequently expressed, and we have no disposition to conceal them on the present occasion. We are perfectly one with the Duke of Grafton in maintaining the propriety of invoking the Divine blessing on the measures which may be adopted, and on returning thanks for the success vouchsafed. But we maintain that this is best done at the dictate of religious principle, and in pursuance of those universal laws which are founded on individual consciousness and a sense of continued dependence on the Divine care. There is so much of mere formalism in state prayers on these occasions that their influence is pernicious rather than otherwise. They disgust, by their obvious hypocrisy, and offend, we verily believe, by their ostentatious pharisaism, the Omniscient Being to whom they are addressed. Let there be prayer and thanksgiving by all means, but let them be the outburst of personal conviction,—the language of deeply-affected and believing hearts. The Duke of Grafton was of course supported by the Earl of Roden, of whose sincerity there is no doubt, though his views on such subjects are sadly beclouded by the false notions entertained on ecclesiastical matters. The reply of the Premier, which, of course, failed to satisfy the Earl of Roden, was indicative of great progress since the palmy days of Church-of-Englandism. Such services were formerly



appointed *ad nauseam*, and have contributed greatly, as we fear, to the prevalence of infidelity amongst the upper classes of society. The truth in this matter is only just beginning to be felt, and it occasionally oozes out from official speakers in a style which would have made their predecessors stand aghast. The whole truth is not yet apprehended, but we see enough to convince us that the time will come when a simpler and more Christianlike view will be taken of such matters. 'He did not deny,' said Lord Aberdeen, 'that occasions might arise in which it was most proper to give her Majesty similar advice; but at the present moment he did not see that circumstances required him to give such advice. Their lordships would recollect that there was already provided in the Liturgy a form of prayer which answered all occasions of this kind. Perhaps they thought they might improve that form of prayer, or that they might have a better one; but he would caution their lordships how they tampered with the Liturgy, for he believed it was of the most essential importance to preserve its integrity, and they should not unnecessarily invite any exercise of the Queen's prerogative which might raise questions injurious to the peace of the Church.' Lord Campbell expressed his entire concurrence in the sentiments of the Prime Minister, remarking with much good sense that 'it would be better to wait until peace was restored by the victories of our army, and when that happy event arrived, let the whole nation on its knees humbly thank God for his mercies.' We are glad that the Government has adopted this course. At the same time, we take the opportunity of saying to our numerous readers, Let each one cultivate a sense of continued dependence on the Divine care, and let the language of humble, earnest, and believing supplication ascend from every heart to the Father of all mercies on behalf of our countrymen who are engaged in this fearful contest. They are entitled to our sympathy; and the voice of prayer can never be more appropriately uttered than when interceding at the Divine footstool for their safety.

THE TREATY BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND THE WESTERN POWERS has at last been published. It has been puffed, for a long time before its appearance, by all the organs of the ministry, as the masterpiece of English diplomacy; as the measure which is to bring the present crisis to a speedy solution, or at least, as the means of doubling the forces engaged in the Russian war, by the accession of five hundred thousand Austrian bayonets. Such views were altogether at variance with the logical deductions from all we know about the real state of Austria; since this power has, by the Italian and Hungarian war, and by her policy of revenge, of confiscation, and proscription, put herself into such a false position, as to prevent the possibility of her going to war;—her only policy, as we have often explained, being one of procrastination and of neutrality. Still, when the conclusion of a treaty between Austria and the Western Powers was announced in the Queen's speech, the funds rose, and the public believed that a *bona fide* alliance was entered into by the three Powers. Lord John Russell's explanations about the unsatisfactory nature of the treaty, which left Austria entirely free to back out without incurring the stigma of having dealt unfairly, were savagely attacked, and flatly contradicted by the organs of Lord Palmerston

and Lord Aberdeen. At last the treaty was laid before Parliament on the 15th. It consists of a preamble and seven articles. The preamble is, of course, as all preambles always are, very satisfactory, and declares that the Queen and the Emperors of France and Austria are animated with a desire of terminating the war by a peace guaranteeing Europe against the return of the present complications; that they are convinced that the complete union of their efforts would be most conducive to this result; that therefore for the purpose of coming to an immediate understanding with regard to their respective positions, and their arrangements for the future, they have signed the treaty, by which they engage mutually and reciprocally not to enter into any arrangement with the Czar, without having first deliberated thereupon in common. By this article Austria has become the arbiter of the war without having incurred any risk, or even broken off her good understanding and diplomatic relations with Russia. In the second article the Emperor of Austria engages to defend the Danubian principalities, which he has occupied, against any Russian attack, and acknowledges solemnly that his occupation shall not interfere with the free movements of the Anglo-French or Ottoman troops upon the same territories;—still this concession is restricted, if not altogether cancelled, by the second part of the article, which declares that every question relating either to the exceptional and provisional state of the principalities, or to the free passages of the different armies across their territory, shall be *examined and regulated* by a mixed commission at Vienna, between the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, and Great Britain, Turkey being likewise invited to send a plenipotentiary to the commission. By Art. 3, England and France guarantee their aid to Austria, in case hostilities should break out between Russia and Austria, and in this case Art. 4 reiterates and enforces once more the stipulations of Art. 1, not to entertain any proposition on the part of the Czar without having come to an understanding between themselves. For such advantages, Austria gives the promise in the 5th Art., that in case general peace should not be re-established in the course of the present year (1854), that together with England and France, she will *deliberate* (!) without delay upon effectual means for obtaining the object of their alliance. The 6th Art. invites Prussia to join the treaty, and the 7th regulates the term of the ratification. Such is the measure which was to secure the peace of Europe! The funds fell slightly as the treaty was published; and Lord John Russell's remarks were fully borne out. Prussia has, as yet, not found it necessary to accede to the alliance. The war, on the whole, is not popular in Germany. Whatever the ministerial papers of England may say about the German interests jeopardized by Russian encroachments in Turkey, the Germans regard only their actual oppression; they long for freedom and unity; and the alliance of England with Austria forebodes neither German freedom nor German unity. Should the war against Russia be carried on, not as a territorial war, but as a war of principles, all Germany would rise to support the cause of freedom. Under the present circumstances they look with diffidence on England and France and with fear on Russia, though they are ashamed of the wavering policy of Prussia.